

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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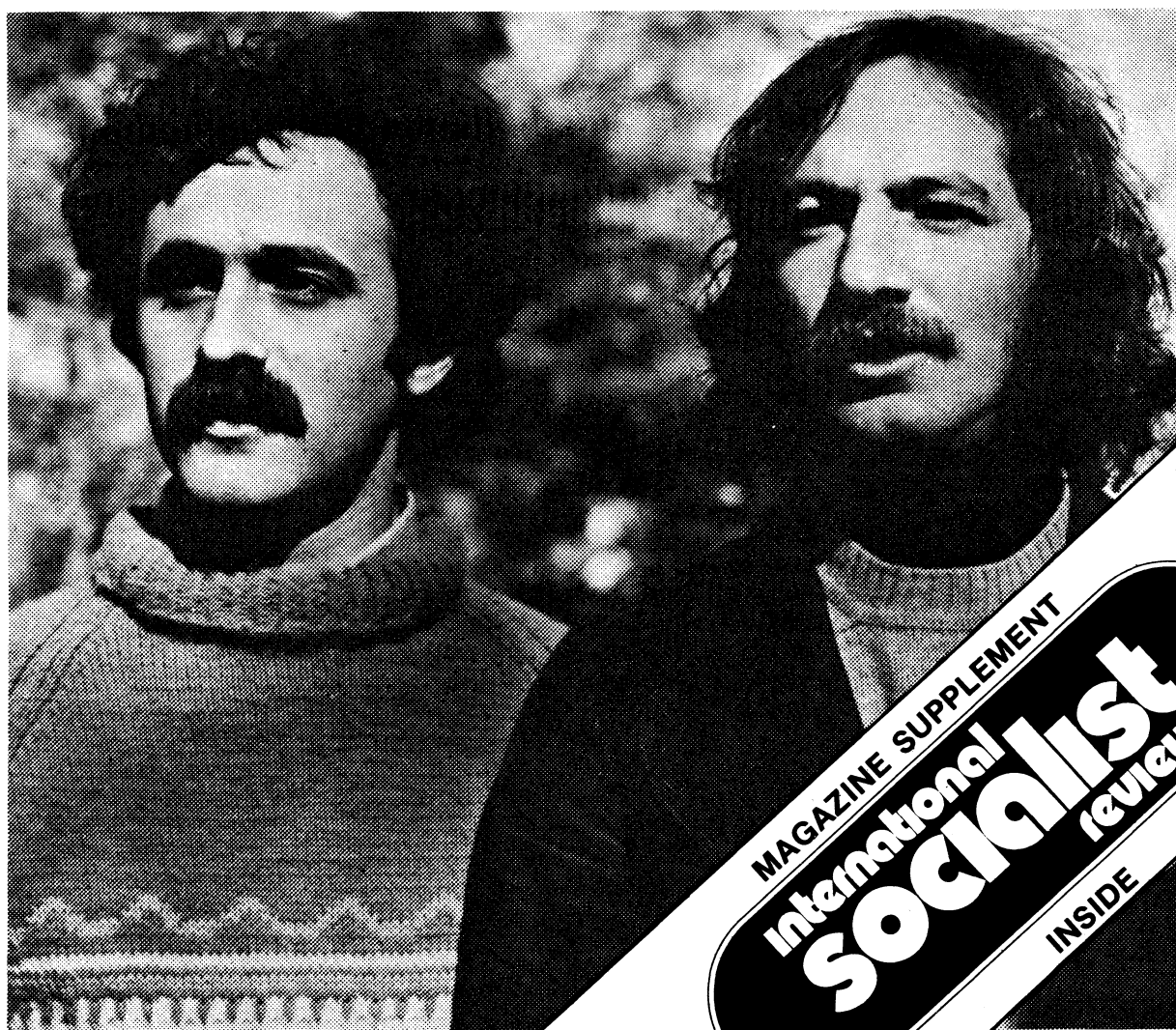
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## THE MILITANT

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**2,500 MARCH IN DENVER ON CHICANO LIBERATION DAY:** Chants of "Chicano power" and "Viva la raza" filled the streets of downtown Denver September 16, as 2,500 Chicanos marched on Chicano Liberation Day. The crowd was mostly high school and junior high school students who walked out of school in the morning to take part in the demonstration. Chicano students have won the right to celebrate this day as a school holiday.

According to a leaflet issued by the September 16 Committee, "The history behind the 16th of September dates back to 1810, when a priest by the name of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla rang the church bells and gave 'El Grito de Dolores' (Cry of Dolores) beckoning the people to rise in protest against Spanish rule, for racial equality, and redistribution of land and wealth. From that day forward, the 16th of September has been celebrated as Mexican Independence Day not only in Mexico but also in the five Southwestern states of Aztlan."

"We're not here today for a celebration," Ernesto Vigil told a rally on the capitol steps after the march. "This is a protest, a protest against the system that oppresses us."

José Gonzales, principal of the Escuela Tlatelolco (a Chicano school run by the Crusade for Justice), pointed to the racism in the Denver public schools. "There are 100 slots open in the Denver public schools for Chicanos if the city implements its own bilingual-bicultural education laws," Gonzales said. "But they tell us there are no qualified Chicanos. That's a lie. That's a lie we've been hearing for a long time."

## Illinois strike leader dies—victim of scab assault

MELROSE PARK, Ill., Sept. 24—David Watson died September 19 of injuries sustained when a scab ran a truck through the picket lines of striking workers at Capital Packaging on September 9. Watson was the vice-president of the striking union—Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507—and the labor director of Operation PUSH.

The driver of the truck, Richard Mitchell, was charged with failure to yield to a pedestrian and was fined twenty-five dollars.

The more than 200 workers at Capital Packaging are determined to continue their fight. A memorial picket line at the plant on Monday morning, September 22, was attacked by police, and nine strikers were arrested.

The union plans further activities to protest Watson's death and to publicize the issues of its strike.

**RALLY SET TO DEFEND MILWAUKEE STRIKERS:** The Milwaukee labor movement and its supporters will rally October 17 in defense of the city's striking meatcutters union. The theme of the rally will be "Keep Milwaukee a union town—Stop the scabs."

Local 248 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters has been out on strike since January 28 of this year. The nine area packinghouses have stayed in operation through the employment of several hundred scabs, many of them from out of town. Several united labor actions in support of the strikers have taken place since last spring. The Milwaukee County Labor Council; the Wisconsin AFL-CIO; the United Auto Workers; the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers; and the Milwaukee Teachers Association are among those pledged to support of the October 17 rally.

**GO NAVY:** It may be "one of the most serious outbreaks of industrial cancer ever," according to a story in the September 29 *Business Week*. An unknown number of World War II's three million shipyard workers probably have mesothelioma—a fatal, asbestos-caused cancer—but the U.S. Navy has been hushing it up for five years.

As long as five years ago, reports started coming from Britain about a growing incidence of mesothelioma among former shipyard workers, who were exposed to millions of pounds of asbestos used to insulate pipes and valves. The navy was supposed to be negotiating with the American Cancer Society and other environmental health scientists for a study of the danger here. "They kept saying they would begin next month," says an ACS director, "but nothing would happen."

So far, *Business Week* reports, "no effort has been made to track down affected workers." It would mean bad publicity for the navy, you see, and possible large damage suits against private companies. Besides, mesothelioma is incurable, so what's the point?

**DAYAN PICKETED IN SYRACUSE:** About forty people joined a picket line in support of the Palestinian struggle September 17 during an appearance of Moshe Dayan at Syracuse University in upstate New York. The protest was initiated by the university's Organization of Arab Students.

Picket signs included "Inflation is the 2.2 billion dollars in arms to Israel" and "Don't send your men to the Sinai—Kissinger's peace agreement is a trap." A contingent from nearby Ithaca also participated, including members of the Cornell University Arab Club and the Ithaca Young Socialist Alliance.

**ST. LOUIS VICTORY RALLY FOR JOANNE LITTLE:** "This case gave us a chance to expose the injustices that exist in this society," Karen Galloway, one of Joanne Little's defense attorneys, told a St. Louis victory rally September 12. Galloway went on to urge support for J.B. Johnson, a young Black from St. Louis facing a second trial on frame-up charges.

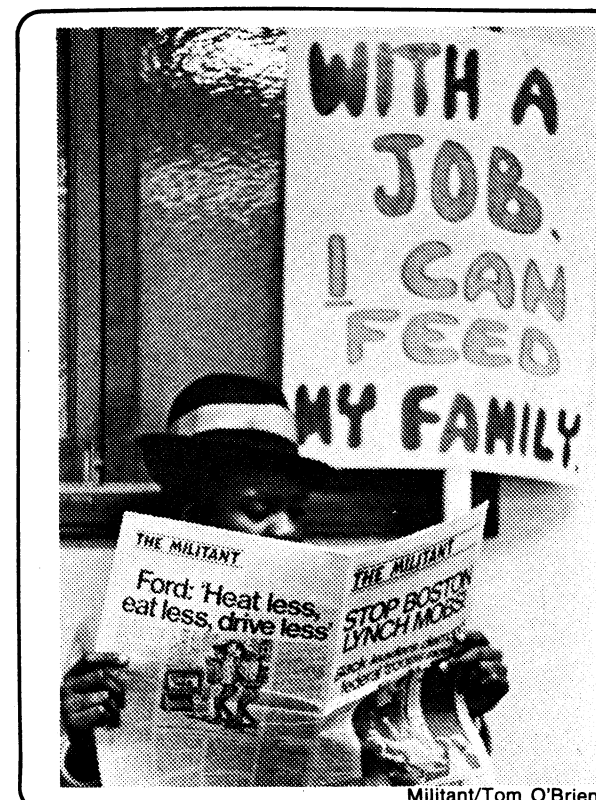
Another of Little's attorneys, Jerry Paul, told the 165 people attending the celebration to "build upon Joanne Little's case just as we had built upon earlier struggles and put them to work for her." He pointed to the importance of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) in these ongoing struggles.

Speaking for St. Louis SCAR, Renita Alexander said, "Black people have a democratic right to live where we want, to swim on any beach we want, or to go to the school of our choosing, whether it be in Boston, Louisville, or St. Louis."

**WARTIME 'EMERGENCY' STILL GOOD:** A federal district court in denver ruled that the state of emergency proclaimed by President Truman in 1950 during the Korean War is still in effect, and on September 19 convicted Cameron David Bishop on three counts of sabotage. The charges were made possible by the proclamation. Bishop, an opponent of the Vietnam War, was charged with bombing utility lines that supplied power to a Colorado defense plant in 1969.

He faces maximum prison sentences of thirty years and fines of up to \$10,000 for each count. Bishop is one of the few people in U.S. history to be charged with sabotage during "peacetime."

—Nancy Cole



Militant/Tom O'Brien

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**'Illegal is if the guy gets caught'**

# Spy masters testify on CIA, FBI plots

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Testifying in public on September 23, for the first time since Watergate, former White House aide Tom Charles Huston told the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that the illegal acts recommended in his 1970 "Huston plan" were acts that "had been done for years before and would be done for years after."

Huston drew up his sweeping spy plan at the request of President Nixon after the massive May 1970 protests against the invasion of Cambodia. The plan called for stepped-up use of burglary, wiretapping, police infiltration, and opening of mail to counter the growing opposition to administration policy.

Although the plan as he wrote it focused on antiwar organizations engaged in mass demonstrations, Black and Puerto Rican groups, and other legal organizations such as the Socialist Workers party and Communist party, Huston tried to tell the Senate committee that the antiwar movement was only "peripherally" of concern to the White House. The real target, he claimed, was "revolutionary violence"—"bombers," "assassins," and "snipers."

"I still believe there is a threat," Huston said. "I think there are people who want to destroy this country."

## 'Forever on our toes'

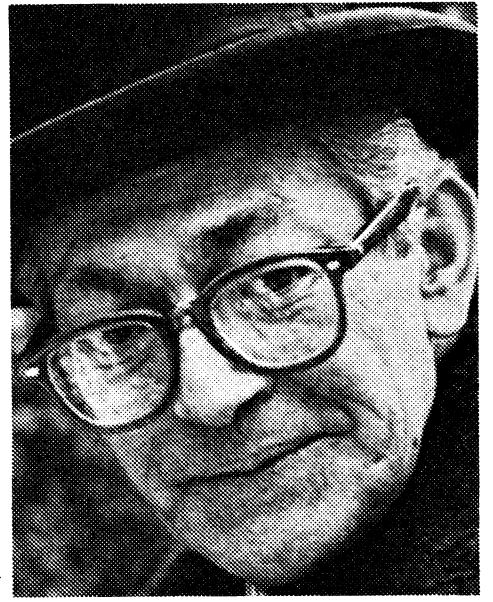
One committee member, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), immediately agreed with him. "As long as we have Daniel Ellsbergs, some newspapers and journalists, and organizations intent on changing the basic philosophy of this country by the same subversion," said Goldwater, "we have to be forever on our toes."

"Every time I pick up the morning paper, I see secrets I thought were locked in my brain, or my heart, or my safe. I get very concerned about the future of my country."

It was the same "concern" that led Nixon to approve Huston's plan in July 1970, although he formally withdrew his approval five days later. In his testimony, Huston indicated that the illegality of the proposals had nothing to do with the plan's official rejection. "Illegal," he explained, is "if the guy gets caught."

As far as the unconstitutionality of the burglaries and mail tampering goes, he said, "My guess would be they never gave any thought to it."

Huston said he himself felt perfectly comfortable recommending burglaries



Left to right: Senator Church, former White House aide Huston, and CIA's Angleton. Was the president 'deceived'?

because he knew they had been done many times. "I was told the bureau [FBI] had undertaken black-bag jobs over a number of years . . . and that this had been successful. . . . Given the revolutionary climate, they needed authorization again."

As for the mail covers (illegal monitoring of mail), this was "something I was told had been done for twenty-five years," Huston said.

Both activities, of course, continued long past Nixon's "rejection" of the Huston plan. The CIA revelations alone have shown that that agency used burglaries and mail covers at least until 1973.

Testimony on the CIA operations was given September 24 by James Angleton, former head of the agency's "counterintelligence" staff. Angleton was a key figure in numerous CIA plots against domestic dissidents over the years, including the mail-interception program and "Operation CHAOS," a program directed against Black, antiwar, and student groups.

Several new names of those whose mail was watched by the agency were revealed at the hearing. They include Martin Luther King, Coretta Scott King, United Auto Workers official Victor Reuther, scientist Linus Pauling, and author John Steinbeck.

When asked to explain why the last three were CIA targets, Angleton said he would prefer to answer that question in a closed session because it involved "classified" information. The committee allowed him to defer his answer.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), head of the Senate committee, said that even

a letter he had sent his mother had wound up in CIA files, as had correspondence belonging to Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), Jay Rockefeller, Richard Nixon, the Ford Foundation, and Harvard University.

Angleton said he still believes that mail inspection is a necessary CIA function, and he said he would favor Congress passing a law to make this form of snooping legal.

He also defended the CIA break-ins to steal documents. "It's not so much 'taking' as 'photographing,'" he explained. "And there's not that much breakage done."

Nervous throughout his appearance, Angleton almost completely lost his composure when confronted by Sen. Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.) with testimony he had earlier given the Senate committee in private.

During testimony on how the CIA had retained shellfish toxin long after Nixon announced it was all being destroyed, Angleton had told the committee, "It's inconceivable that a secret intelligence arm of the government has to comply with all the overt orders."

Reading him that statement from the transcript, Schweiker asked him if it was an accurate version of what he had said.

## 'Shouldn't have said it'

"If it's accurate, it shouldn't have been said," replied Angleton.

Pressed further, Angleton said the statement had been "imprudent" and asked that it be stricken from the record.

Angleton's "imprudent" remarks, however, were completely accurate, and not only with regard to shellfish toxin. What he was really describing was the standard operating procedure of the U.S. spy network with regard to "overt orders"—what the president says in public.

Senator Church's committee, however, has tried to create a different impression. During the questioning of Huston, the former White House aide claimed that when Nixon ordered the 1970 spy plan he was totally oblivious to FBI counterintelligence programs, such as Cointelpro, the CIA's domestic spying, and other illegal intelligence activities already going on.

The committee has taken this absurd line for good coin, using it to bolster the notion that the massive illegal spying in this country is due to what Senator Church calls "independent fiefdoms" in the intelligence network.

"The president and Mr. Huston, it appears, were deceived by intelligence officials," said Church.

The "core issue" of the entire spy scandal, he explained, was the "failure to keep the president of the United States properly advised of such activities."

The American people have heard this cover-up story once before, when it was the "failure" to keep Nixon "properly advised" on illegal campaign activities that led to Watergate. That story wasn't bought when Nixon and his gang were selling it, and it's unlikely that the congressional "investigators" will be able to palm it off any better.

# Spain sentences 11 to death by garroting

By José Pérez

Eleven people in Spain have been condemned to death and at least 200 more arrested in recent weeks in a stepped-up repressive drive by the Franco dictatorship.

The eleven were convicted, in four separate cases, of allegedly killing police. They are:

- José Antonio Garmendía Artola and Angel Otaegui Echeverría, members of Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom), a nationalist group, convicted August 29.

- Manuel Antonio Blanco Chivite, Vladimiro Fernández Tovar, and José Humberto Saena Alonso, members of the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriótico (FRAP—Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front), a Maoist group, convicted September 12.

- Manuel Canaveras, María Jesús Dasca Panellas, Ramón García Sanz,

José-Luis Sánchez Bravo, and Concepción Tristan López, who prosecutors claimed are members of FRAP, convicted September 18. The five denied membership in the FRAP.

- Juan Paredes Manot, member of ETA, convicted September 20.

The summary military trials conducted under Spain's new "antiterrorist" law were a travesty of justice. In at least two trials, convictions were based on "confessions" that the sentenced militants repudiated, explaining they had been extracted under torture.

Defense lawyers for the five who were convicted September 18 had only four hours to prepare their case. After raising objections, the lawyers were expelled from the trial, and the military tribunal appointed five army majors to serve as defense counsel.

One of the defendants said after the trial, "This wasn't a defense—the

defenders accused us."

The stepped-up repression has been met with widespread protest in Spain and internationally. A general strike involving 130,000 workers in the Basque Country protested the first trial.

In Italy, airport workers in Rome and Milan have refused to handle baggage carried on the Spanish airline, Iberia, and on other flights to and from Spain. Italian longshoremen have refused to handle cargo of ships flying the Spanish flag.

In Paris, a September 19 meeting called by the FRAP drew a packed audience of several thousand to the Mutualité.

Reflecting the massive sentiment against the sentences that exists in Europe, Pope Paul VI has called on Franco to spare the activists' lives.

As of September 21, the four cases

were on appeal. If the convictions are upheld as expected, the eleven will face immediate execution, probably by garroting, unless Franco commutes the sentence.

Garroting is a medieval method of execution by use of an iron collar that is tightened until a spike severs the victim's spinal chord.

When the first sentences were announced, it was expected that appeals would be summarily denied and execution carried out immediately. But the outpouring of international sentiment and powerful protests inside Spain apparently caused the dictatorship to vacillate.

Further protests are urgently necessary to force Franco to revoke the barbaric sentences and prevent further death penalties from being meted out to the other activists arrested in recent weeks.



## Fight for union recognition

# Atlanta AFSCME, teachers form coalition

By Tony Dutrow

ATLANTA—The fight of public employees here for union recognition and decent wages has taken a big step forward with the formation of a coalition between teachers and non-academic school board employees.

The coalition, publicly announced at a September 12 news conference, was formed to fight for a contract for the teachers and school workers, dues checkoff for teachers, and restoration of a promised pay increase taken away from all school employees by the board.

The Atlanta Association of Educators, local affiliate of the National Education Association, includes 2,200 of the city's 4,000 teachers. Some 1,200 of the 1,500 maids, cooks, and custodians in the schools have signed up with the school board chapter of Local 1644, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Local 1644, which won dues checkoff this summer, is now in negotiations with the school board, demanding a signed contract covering wages, hours, and working conditions. Such a contract would be unprecedented in Atlanta.

At the September 12 joint news conference, the teachers announced that in the event of an AFSCME strike, they would honor picket lines at all 140 schools.

Then, on September 15, AAE building representatives met and voted overwhelmingly to begin to prepare teachers and the Atlanta community for a joint AFSCME-AAE fight for a contract.

Also attending the AAE meeting was John Dornan from the Washington, D.C., headquarters of CAPE, the Coalition of American Public Employees. CAPE nationally includes



AFSCME 1644

Local 1644 won dues checkoff through long fight against city administration. Now sights are set on signed contract, wage increase. Above, AFSCME demonstration last year.

AFSCME, the NEA, the American Nurses' Association, and others.

Dornan told the news media that the new coalition in Atlanta is the first city-wide affiliate in CAPE's three-year history.

"Atlanta is ripe," he said, to test the central objectives of the public employee coalition. That is, to take "historically fragmented groups" like the AAE and AFSCME and cement their power around the struggle for a signed contract.

"They would sign an agreement at the same time," Dornan said. "In that way, the school board would have to treat both groups equally, instead of giving something to one group and holding it back from another."

The big-business-owned news media in Atlanta have been systematically misrepresenting AFSCME's plans. Banner headlines in the *Atlanta Constitution* and *Journal* September 13 trumpeted: "City School Workers Strike Vote Possible" and "Custodial Strike May Hit Schools." The press and television churned out sensationalized reports on an "impending" strike for September 15.

At a membership meeting of Local 1644's school board chapter on September 14, AFSCME leaders reported on the progress of negotiations to that point and outlined the next steps in the fight.

In preliminary negotiations, school superintendent Alonzo Crim was

forced to sign ten written agreements covering hours and working conditions for school board workers.

None of these agreements cover wages. One of them, however, specifies that a food service worker filling in for a manager must receive the higher manager's pay scale for that period. This type of underpayment of wages had been a common occurrence in school cafeterias.

The union's twenty-four person negotiating team, a representative cross-section of the membership, had voted to discuss these issues as a precondition to the actual contract talks with the board.

Each of the ten issues resolved is in the form of a letter to Local 1644 signed by Crim. *This is the first time the board has agreed in writing to anything about working conditions for Local 1644.*

There is still a long way to go to force the board to sign a contract, though. The AFSCME members voted to approve the following plan of action:

First, the board was given thirty days to agree on a signed contract before a strike vote will be taken.

Second, the union will use the next thirty days to prepare, together with the AAE, for strike action if necessary.

Third, a joint AFSCME-AAE membership meeting was called, the date to be set later, to respond to the board's decision on a contract and to determine further action.

The news media reported that a strike had been "averted." The fact is that AFSCME is moving ahead steadily and seriously in its fight for a contract, working to ensure the greatest unanimity of its own ranks and support from broader forces. The union does not intend to be drawn into battle unprepared.

## Jobs, schools, police brutality

# Socialist speaks on issues in Seattle race

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—Socialists here are moving ahead with plans for an energetic city council campaign to follow up the second-place showing of Patricia Bethard in the September 16 primary election.

Bethard, a member of the Socialist Workers party, won 11,700 votes in her bid for council position five in the "nonpartisan" primary. This was nearly 18 percent of the total vote, and it qualified her for a spot on the November ballot opposite incumbent Black Democrat Sam Smith.

The third candidate in the race, from the right-wing "U.S. Labor party," got

about half as many votes as Bethard.

In the next few weeks, Bethard's supporters plan to open a second campaign headquarters in the Central Area, the heart of Seattle's Black community. Much of Smith's support comes from the Central Area.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Bethard explained why she is running against Smith and where her campaign stands on the issues affecting the people of Seattle.

"If Sam Smith was running as an independent candidate of the Black community, I wouldn't oppose him," she said. "But, he's not. Smith is a Democrat, and his allegiance to the Democratic party makes it impossible for him to represent the Black community or other working people in Seattle."

Bethard is a clerical worker at the University of Washington in Seattle. She is secretary of Local 1488 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and is a delegate to the King County Labor Council. One of her activities, she said, is helping the union's organizing drive on campus.

Redlining, police terror, unemployment, and education: these are the issues her campaign will focus on. She has answers to these problems, she said; Sam Smith doesn't.

The banks' redlining of the Black community—marking out areas where they refuse to make loans to homeowners and small businesses—is an important issue in Seattle.

"Smith says that legislative action

by the city council is unnecessary," Bethard said. "He says he is talking to the bankers and they will cooperate. Well, I haven't seen any evidence of such cooperation."

Bethard said that if she were elected she would propose whatever legal action is necessary to force the banks to stop redlining.

"Sam Smith says that this is a 'city council you can talk to,'" Bethard added. "I think that Blacks should have the right to do more than talk."

She supports the right of the Black community to "control everything that is an integral part of the community and affects the everyday life of the community."

Bethard says a massive infusion of federal funding is needed to build housing, schools, hospitals, libraries, and other facilities in the Black community, and that all such funds should be under the control of the community.

A major problem facing all working people in Seattle is unemployment. Bethard calls for a massive public works program to put the unemployed to work, along with a shorter workweek at no reduction in weekly pay. She says the federal government should stop spending \$100 billion a year on arms and direct the money toward these human needs instead.

Last spring, Bethard and other SWP candidates joined demonstrations in Olympia, the state capital, by teachers, students, and parents demanding money for the schools.

She believes it will take more demonstrations to force the Democrats and

Republicans in Olympia and in Washington, D.C., to come up with the necessary funds for education.

Bethard also supports Initiative 314, a bill to tax corporate profits to pay for schools.

Bethard has spoken out strongly against cop terror in Seattle. One cop, Allen Earlywine, recently shot a Black youth, Joe Hebert, and was exonerated by the police department.

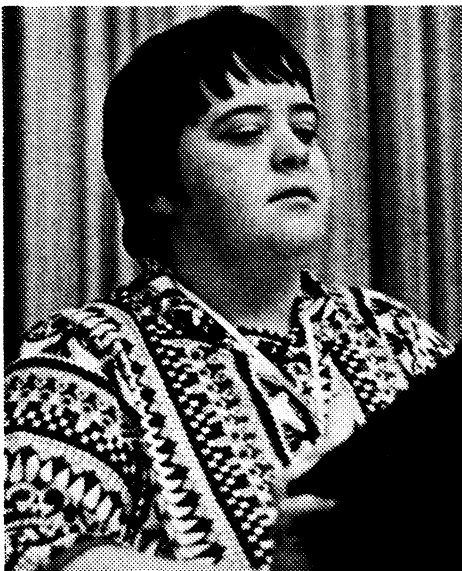
"Earlywine should have been tried for murder, and the police chief should have been fired for trying to cover it up," the socialist candidate said.

She calls for getting the police out of the Black community and replacing them with a self-defense force drawn from the community and responsible to it.

As a public employee Bethard is particularly knowledgeable about the plight of city workers. She noted that workers at City Light, a public utility, have been without a contract since April 1.

The Seattle City Council recently voted to rescind a 1951 resolution requiring that City Light workers be paid comparably with employees in other public utilities. The union involved, Local 77 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has accused the council of unfair labor practices.

Bethard condemned the council's antilabor vote and offered her full support for the union's wage demands. "I am opposed to having the city budget balanced at the expense of city employees," she said.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

SWP candidate Patricia Bethard won 18 percent of vote in primary election.



## Defies court injunction

# Boston teachers union strikes to save jobs

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—On September 22, more than 4,000 public school teachers walked the picket lines in Boston.

The strike, provoked by the racist, antilabor Boston School Committee, was virtually 100 percent effective. The teachers are demanding job security and higher wages. Other issues in the strike revolve around extra working hours for teachers and implementation of last year's arbitration award.

On Friday, September 19, Suffolk Superior Court Judge Samuel Adams issued an injunction against the strike, which defies a Massachusetts state law prohibiting strikes by public employees. The teachers voted to defy the injunction. The BTU now faces possible fines of \$5,000 a day for every day they are out, and possible jail sentences for the union leadership.

Judge W. Arthur Garrity, who presides over the desegregation process now being implemented in the Boston schools, refused on September 22 to

issue a federal court injunction prohibiting the strike, but ordered both the teachers union and the school committee to return to negotiations for no less than twelve hours a day until an agreement is reached. He also appointed a mediator to participate in the negotiations.

The most important issue in the strike is job security for the teachers. Over the past year, there has been a reported drop of more than 10,000 students in the Boston public schools, due primarily to racist white parents taking their children out of the schools because of opposition to desegregation.

Because of this declining enrollment, the school committee wants to begin firing teachers. They want the "right" to fire provisional teachers this year and to be able to fire permanent and tenured teachers starting with the next school year. This could result in the loss of jobs for hundreds of teachers.

The BTU is demanding job security for all categories of teachers, and

proposes that "excessed" teachers be retrained in bilingual, reading, and other special skills so that some of the real needs for improving the educational system can be met.

The BTU is also opposing the school committee's demand that teachers work an extra ninety minutes every two weeks without pay.

Finally, the school committee has proposed a wage settlement that is outrageous—a 6 percent increase. The teachers are demanding a 9 percent wage increase, which is not even enough to keep up with the 9.7 percent increase in the cost of living in Boston over the past year.

The teachers' strike comes two weeks after Boston schools opened for the second year of court-ordered desegregation, which involves the busing of some 26,000 students.

The BTU voted on September 2 to authorize the strike but to postpone action for two weeks in order to allow Phase Two of the school desegregation plan to be implemented. The union, however, has refused to take a position in favor of school desegregation and in support of the Black community's right to an equal education.

The BTU, long regarded as a white job trust, has weakened its position in the strike by trying to sit on the fence throughout the struggle over school desegregation. By refusing to aggressively support desegregation, the union has alienated its potentially most important ally in this strike—the Black community.

Some Black leaders, such as Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, and Black school committee candidate John O'Bryant, have come out in opposition to the strike, seeing it as a disruption of the implementation of Phase Two.

Norman Oliver, the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Boston, was present at the BTU

meeting where the strike vote was taken. He issued a statement on the strike that points the way forward for the BTU in its fight against the bigoted school committee. Oliver said:

"The BTU has never taken a forthright stand in support of Black equal rights in education and against the racist policies of segregation organized by the school committee. It has appealed, in court, Judge Garrity's ruling for parity hiring of Black teachers—designed to make the teacher work force represent the racial composition of the schools and to overcome decades of discrimination in hiring and placement."

"It is no wonder that the Black community looks with skepticism on the strike—and that the school committee will try to pit the BTU against the Black community."

"The school committee is out to overturn Phase Two through any means available and to break the BTU."

"HOW CAN THE STRIKE BE WON? Only by the BTU coming forward and rallying the most intransigent foes of the Boston School Committee, the people who have fought longest and hardest for better education in Boston: the Black community. The BTU must take a firm stand for Phase Two, for the safety of Black students being bused, and for Black teacher rights."

"I and my running mates will be on your picket lines. We will lend our support to you. And we will seek to win the Black community to your side."

"But first and foremost the BTU must take a stand, after half a decade of silence on the most burning issue in Boston. It must reach out to the Black community, and all its allies in the prodesegregation movement, and forge a two-front defense against the racist antilabor Boston School Committee's attack on education in Boston."



Boston School Committee, which threatens to fire hundreds of teachers, is also spearhead of racist antibusing campaign.

## Berkeley teachers set example of united action

By David Warren

BERKELEY, Calif.—The strike by public school teachers here, which began September 3, provides a rare example of united action by teachers, students, and parents in defense of education.

The strike is being conducted jointly by the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT) and the Berkeley Teachers Association. Such common action between affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association, bitter rivals in the unionization of teachers, is virtually unprecedented.

The teachers are striking to force the board of education to honor an agreement made last April that included limitations on class sizes and other policies to improve classroom conditions. The board now wants to scrap that agreement and is threatening to cut educational programs, classroom supplies, and health benefits and salaries of the teachers.

More than 96 percent of the teachers are honoring the picket lines. Of the regular substitute teachers—whom the board is baiting with an offer of fifty dollars a day instead of the usual thirty-four—80 percent are staying out.

An average of 2,300 students out of an enrollment of 14,000 attend school each day.

The student government at Berkeley High School voted to boycott classes for the duration of the strike. Since the vote, attendance at the high school has fallen off from 400 on the first day of the strike to between 75 and 125. Total high school enrollment is 2,700.

On September 9, 800 students, teach-

ers, and parents demonstrated at the board's offices, demanding that the teachers' agreement be honored.

An Education Fair and Labor Rally on Sunday, September 21, drew more than 300 people and received wide television coverage.

"Especially important to the striking staff was the vast outpouring of support from teacher representatives from the Bay Area," reported the teachers' joint strike bulletin, *Schools on Strike*, the next day.

Eight presidents of AFT locals in the area spoke at the rally, as did representatives from three NEA affiliates. Other speakers included spokespeople from the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Local 1695 of the Ameri-

can Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

At this point, negotiations are stalled. Rather than agree to any settlement that could end the strike, the board has spent thousands of dollars—\$250,000 according to a union estimate—to defeat the teachers.

Mass mailings to parents, newspaper advertisements, scab substitutes, and eight board-sponsored community meetings have been used to try to break the strike.

Then the liberal board, which has credited itself with desegregating Berkeley schools, resorted to attacking the school staffs along racial lines, warning Black employees that if a

settlement is forced, it would result in layoffs of those last hired in order to pay for the package.

Black teachers and school employees have angrily reacted to this ploy. At one of the board's community meetings, a Black paraprofessional drew loud applause when she said, "My monthly salary is so low that I have to apply for food stamps. And now you tell me, after all these years, that you are concerned about me?"

The board settled first with the classified employees—secretaries, custodians, and bus drivers—hoping to divide them from the teachers.

A "citizen's fiscal advisory committee" was set up by the board to substantiate the board's claim that it is unable to maintain the schools at last year's level.

This committee, however, came out with a report condemning the school district's fiscal policies. It is currently in the process of filing suit against the board, charging it with withholding vital information on the budget.

A group of individuals have also filed notices of intent to recall the board.

Nearly every day teachers hold a joint association-union rally. At one of these, after the second week of the strike, BFT President Judy Bodenhause told the 500 teachers assembled, "This strike is the strongest in California history because it is not just a union strike nor just an association strike, but because it is a united teacher strike!"

The teachers cheered, and some added, "And a student, parent, and community strike too!"



Berkeley picket line

Militant/David Warren



Militant/Lloyd Daniels  
Boston police prepare to escort buses carrying Black students to previously all-white schools.

# Should we demand federal troops to protect Black rights?

By Tony Thomas

(Second of a series)

BOSTON—The first weeks of school here have seen an advance for the Boston Black community's fight to desegregate the schools. Still, the struggle is far from over.

Attendance by both white and Black students—one of the chief indicators of the success of the busing program—is higher than last year.

When the schools opened last year, the Black community was stunned by the racist violence. Many people thought that nothing could be done about the situation. A large number of Black parents refused to send their children to be bused because they feared racist violence.

Many of the same parents are now feeling more confident about sending their children to school. Over the past year Black support for the busing program has grown, and many now think that the Black community has a chance to win this fight.

Whites who support school desegregation, or who are at least opposed to racist violence, are more willing to speak out against the extreme racists.

While violent attacks continue in racist neighborhoods such as Hyde Park, Charlestown, and South Boston, the racist mobs have not been able to physically harm Black students in the schools and on the buses, as they did last year.

What's the difference between this year and last year? Why the change?

## Protection for Blacks

The major reason for these advances is increased police and federal protection for Black students. Twice as many Boston cops lined the streets of the racist districts this year as last year. State troopers were also on hand.

Last fall Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, who handed down the school desegregation order, rejected the NAACP's demand for U.S. marshals to protect the Black community. This year, more than 100 U.S. marshals and FBI agents were called in to prevent violence against Black students.

While last year the racists were able to go up to the school buses and school buildings and, in some cases, into the schools themselves to intimidate Blacks, this year the police and marshals have kept them away from the school buildings.

While this protection remains inadequate, it has dealt a hard blow to Boston's racists, who had counted on violent intimidation of Blacks students as one of their main tactics to smash the desegregation plan.

Last year the local, state, and federal governments tolerated the violence, thus strengthening the antibusing movement considerably.

## Racists emboldened

The government showed it was not really opposed to the racists even though it was going through the motions of administering the busing program. Antibusing statements by President Ford and by leading Demo-

cratic politicians reinforced this pattern.

This encouragement of the racists emboldened them not only to attack Black schoolchildren but to organize lynch mobs against Blacks who tried to work in or even visit white neighborhoods.

When school began in 1974, the NAACP, Black elected officials, and church and community leaders demanded that the government enforce the federal law against school segregation by sending in troops to quell the violence. Washington refused to act and the racists' campaign of terror continued into the summer.

In July a mob nearly lynched six Black traveling salesmen who attempted to swim at Carson Beach in South Boston. In response, the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism called a picnic at Carson Beach to assert the right of Blacks to use the public facility.

Cops and bigots viciously attacked the picnickers. This set off a wave of protests in the Black community. These protests were also attacked by the police.

Most groups involved in the Carson Beach protest drew the lesson that the campaign for protection of Boston's Black community had to be continued. Thomas Atkins, president of Boston's NAACP; Percy Wilson, head of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center; Pat Jones, head of Lena Park Community Services; and Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, were among the Black leaders and activists who raised the demand for federal troops to protect the Black community at the opening of school this year.

## Doubts raised

At the same time, a small minority of activists raised doubts about this perspective. They included sectarian

nationalist groups such as United Black Strategists and the All African Revolutionary People's party, which are opposed to busing, as well as a few activists who have been involved in the desegregation fight.

They reasoned that since the government is the enemy of the Black community—a completely correct idea—then the cops and troops would not really protect the Black community.

In fact, they charged that calling for more troops and cops would probably set the stage for new attacks on the Black community.

The opening of schools proved that the demand for increased federal and police force against the racists could be implemented—even if only partially—and that it would not automatically lead to attacks on the Black community.

Why are the same cops who brutally attacked Blacks at Carson Beach, and the same city and federal officials who allowed the racists to attack the buses last year, providing increased protection against the racists this year?

The reason is that they fear the growing mobilization of the Black community and the support it is winning for the right to equal education and for protection against violence.

The ruling class realizes the potentially explosive power of the Black community. They also understand the radicalizing effect that the struggle of Afro-Americans has had on the other oppressed nationalities, and on many white Americans.

Since the early 1950s, the government has been forced to make major concessions to the Black community in order to contain the Black struggle. The rulers don't aim to liberate Black people. Their goal is to maintain the illusion that the capitalist system is democratic. They seek to convince

Blacks not to challenge that system, and especially not to challenge the Democratic and Republican parties, which maintain capitalist rule.

But Black people have been able to turn many of the concessions the government was forced to grant from paper into reality. They have been able to do it by demanding that the ruling class enforce its own laws guaranteeing Black rights and by backing up their demands with mass actions and mobilizations.

## Mass pressure

It was the pressure of the massive marches, rallies, and sit-ins of the civil rights movement that forced the government to send federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 and Selma, Alabama, in 1965 to protect Blacks from racist violence. And it was the fear of the ultimate consequences of the growing mobilization of Blacks and their allies that finally forced the rulers to grant an end to legalized segregation in the South.

The reason increased protection is being given to the Black schoolchildren of Boston today is that the federal and local governments have seen a growing determination on the part of the Black community—expressed in action—to defend its rights.

Over the past year two marches of more than 10,000 were organized to focus national attention on the struggle for equal education. These marches helped to produce a mood of militancy in the Black community and a growing confidence that it is possible to fight the racists and win the battle for school desegregation.

The rulers fear the consequences of more mass demonstrations and they fear the consequences of more outbursts like the ones that shook the Black community here after the Carson Beach affair. So they have been forced to take steps to provide more protection for Black schoolchildren.

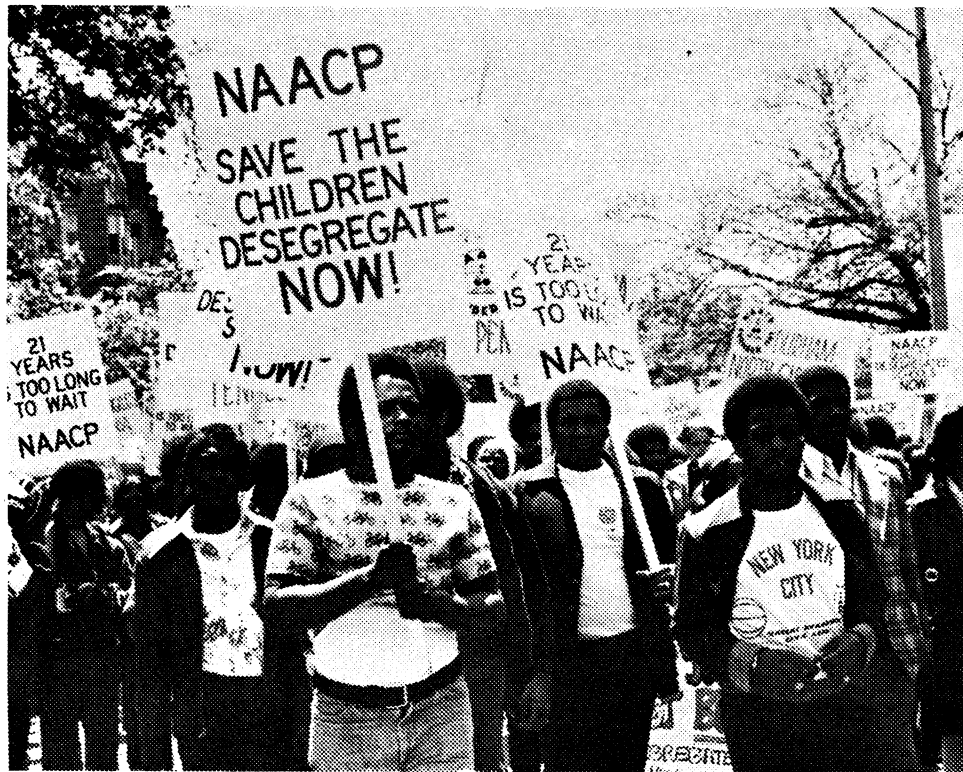
They are also worried that the growing organization of the Black community in Boston will set an example for Blacks in other cities who have been, or will be, confronted with racist violence.

## Struggle not over

The struggle in Boston is not over, despite the relative calm that has existed over the first few weeks of school.

When cops reduced their patrols on September 19 in a few areas of South Boston—using the calm as an excuse—there were stonings of school buses, attacks on federal marshals, and an attempt to burn one of the bridges on which the buses travel. Moreover, the racists continue their pressure to have city officials remove or reduce the large numbers of police protecting the schools.

A continuing national campaign is needed against racist violence. This must include the demand for federal troops if they are needed to put down the racists.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Determined actions of Blacks demanding implementation of desegregation forced government to provide increased protection for Black students this fall.



# Racist violence keeps Boston uneasy

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Sniper fire in Charlestown and racist mob action in South Boston capped an uneasy second week of city-wide school desegregation here.

On September 18, rooftop snipers shot at police cars on patrol in Charlestown, twenty-four hours after a gang had stoned Charlestown police headquarters and attempted to set fire to the building. The racists are furious at police for having provided protection for Blacks being bused to formerly white schools.

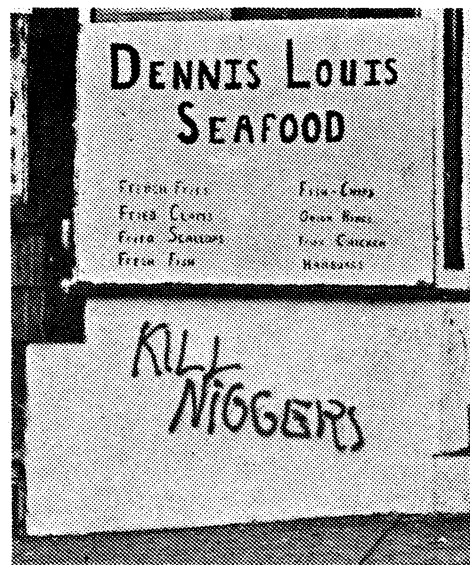
On September 19, a prayer-chanting "mothers' march" against desegregation in South Boston turned into a rock- and bottle-throwing mob of 200 that unsuccessfully sought to penetrate police lines and attack school buses carrying Black students. Milling gangs of youths grouped and dispersed near bus routes while the cops politely kept the obscenity-screaming hooligans at bay.

The first federal arrest this year was made at the melee, when U.S. marshals arrested a sixteen-year-old tough for assault on a federal officer. Boston police arrested four others for "disturbing the peace."

On September 20, a fire set on the Summer Street Bridge, which leads into South Boston, closed traffic for two hours. Round-the-clock police patrols now watch seven bridges that lead into the area.

Overall school attendance rose during the week, with Black enrollment moving upward, especially at the elementary and middle-school levels. Chinese and Latino student enrollment percentages rose dramatically as well.

The white student boycott organized



Militant/Jon Hillson

Racist graffiti in Charlestown shows real meaning of antibusing movement.

by the antibusing movement has accounted for a 27 percent drop in white enrollment. The boycott took a new turn with the inauguration of a weekly day of "emphasis" designed to signal ongoing opposition to desegregation. On September 18 white attendance at Charlestown High School hit its lowest point since school opened, while Hyde Park High School dropped to its second-lowest count of the fall. White enrollment overall, however, has risen slightly.

"It was observed," the Boston *Herald-American* noted, "that several antibusing ROAR mothers who spend a good deal of time outside Hyde Park High had visited Charlestown in the morning." ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) spearheads the racist drive

against desegregation.

This circulation of the racist organizers around the city near the schools represents an emerging boldness of the bigots. For the first week of school they were stunned by the large, visible police presence and court order, which the police enforced, that prohibited them from gathering near schools. The fact that the cops have been so unenthusiastic about dealing with the mobs and gangs that regularly challenge them—and the bus routes they cordon off—has steadily increased the confidence of the bigots.

On September 22, Charlestown ROAR leader Pat Russell led a delegation of fifteen bigots through police lines and up to the door of the high school to demand a meeting with headmaster Frank Power, an ardent foe of busing. They said they wanted to discuss "grievances of the white students."

That the court order forbidding gatherings near the school was flouted by the racists is certain to be noted by their followers.

Sixty white students in the building later bolted the high school in a walkout. One of them was arrested for smashing the metal detector that the students walk through every morning.

On September 20, fifty racists organized by ROAR picketed the *Boston Globe*, whose moderate support for school desegregation has infuriated the bigots. They also condemned the *Globe's* support for the financially troubled METCO program, a modest voluntary busing plan that transports nearly 3,000 Black students to suburban schools.

On September 21, nearly 200 young

bigots staged their first antibusing "bike-a-thon," cycling throughout South Boston, Charlestown, and the North End in a driving rain. The image of "good-natured protest" sought by the racists was somewhat belied when one of the event's chaperons drove his car directly into a police officer, hospitalizing him.

Today, the Boston teachers' strike, which began on September 22, dominates the city, with only a trickle of students entering the buildings.

But the reality of a diminishing police force, coupled with its kid-gloves treatment of the racists, points to potential trouble at the reopening of schools. On September 19, the last of the national guard forces on call in Boston were withdrawn, an act that will only boost the spirits of the racists.

At the same time, the Boston media have given a big play to recent antibusing statements by President Ford and Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller. Ford's attack on the courts for ordering busing and Rockefeller's support for a constitutional amendment against busing are carbon copies of ROAR's program to wipe out Black equal rights in education. Such statements have strengthened the racists' will to fight.

The shaky victory won by the Black community here in the implementation of desegregation and the protection of Black students being bused will face new, hard tests when school reopens. Antiracist forces must remain vigilant, prepared to demand in action that the police force that has stopped the racists thus far remain large and visible.

## New assaults on school desegregation

By Baxter Smith

Racist passions inflamed by busing opponents, from the federal level on down, which have brought insult and injury to Black students in Boston and Louisville, have now claimed the life of a desegregation planner in Ohio.

Charles Glatt, an education expert who was asked by a federal judge to draw up a desegregation plan for the Dayton, Ohio, public school system, was shot to death September 19 while at work in his office.

Neal Bradley Long, a white service station attendant, is being held for the crime. Authorities say they believe Long may also be responsible for the slayings of at least six Blacks in Dayton in the past four years.

Glatt, who was white, expressed concern before his death that violent opposition to desegregation might result if a busing plan were devised for Dayton. And, according to associates, he believed his life was in danger. To

help foil any murder attempts, Glatt changed cars frequently and varied his schedule. He would often spend nights at various friends' houses as a safety precaution.

His appointment as planner came as a result of an NAACP desegregation suit, and prior to his work in Dayton he helped develop desegregation plans in Indianapolis.

It was reported that the Dayton school board, whose majority opposes busing, had hired another consultant, but to devise a plan that would not involve busing.

In related news, Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll recently filed suit asking the federal government to reimburse the county and state for the cost of paying state police and national guardsmen stationed in Louisville to prevent rioting and disturbances by antibusing bigots.

According to the suit, the cost of the combined forces is \$750,000 a week. It

argues that the desegregation plan is a federally ordered plan and therefore the federal government should absorb its costs.

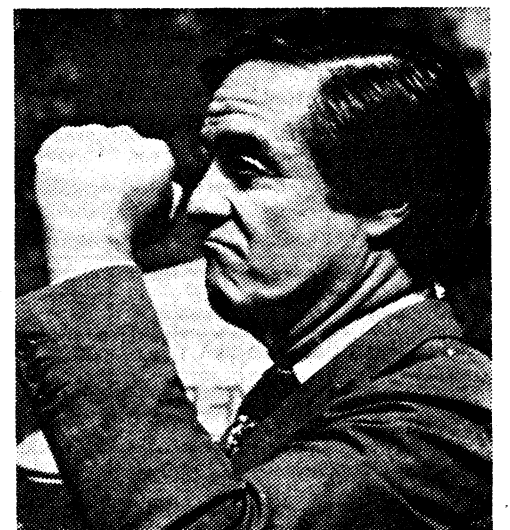
In similar challenges in the past, the federal courts have ruled that local governments—who were responsible for the segregation to begin with—have had to bear such costs themselves.

Carroll initiated the suit to stimulate congressional motion toward a constitutional amendment prohibiting busing for desegregation.

Meanwhile, the Senate on September 17 tacked onto an appropriations bill an amendment that would prevent the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from cutting off federal funds to municipalities that refuse to desegregate their public schools.

And on September 21, another soldier joined the antibusing brigade. This soldier is a Sargent (Shriver), and the newest candidate for the Demo-

cratic presidential ticket. He said that court-ordered busing in some instances was "counterproductive" and "will not work everywhere."



Democratic presidential candidate Shriver calls busing 'counterproductive.'

## L.A. Black leaders defend busing

By Geoff Mirelowitz

LOS ANGELES—"I am anxious to join with the Student Coalition Against Racism and others in a war against racism in this country," said Bishop H.H. Brookins, president of the West Coast Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Brookins was speaking at a September 12 news conference in response to racist resistance to school desegregation in Boston and Louisville.

Initiated by the Los Angeles chapter of the Student Coalition Against Racism, the news conference brought together local Black leaders and others prominent in efforts to desegregate the schools here.

Brookins went on to add, "We support total desegregation of the schools across the board. Until some-

one comes up with a better way—and no one has—we stand for busing."

Joining Brookins was Rev. Edgar Edwards, who said:

"The issue today is in Louisville and Boston. Tomorrow it may be in Los Angeles. The problem is not busing but racism. White parents want and provide the best education for their children. We want the best for our children. We want our children to go to those schools where they can get the best education."

Speaking for the student coalition, Laura Moorhead responded to a public attack on busing by Wilson Riles, the Black state superintendent of public instruction.

Riles had told reporters as schools opened in Boston, "The minorities are not going to be happy with it, the

majorities are not going to be happy with it, and I see no educational value in that nonsense unless you equip the bus with a television set and a teaching machine."

Moorhead replied that Riles's statement "can only be interpreted as bending to the pressure of the arguments of the racists."

Moorhead also told of plans to participate in the national conference of the student coalition in Boston October 10-12.

Also speaking at the news conference were former state superior court judge Alfred Gitelson, who was the author of the decision (which was overturned but is on appeal) ordering desegregation of the public schools here, and Fred Okrand, legal director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union.

# Socialist campaign blankets Boston on final Saturday before the election

By David Salner

BOSTON—"I've been looking for work for six months," the young Black man told me. A few feet away, Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston mayor, was speaking through a bullhorn.

We were standing in front of Blair's supermarket, with the sidewalks full of Saturday shoppers. The man I was talking to had been a hand-stripper at a shoe factory. Most of those laid off with him were Black.

"We didn't work there long, so we got the lowest pay. That means it hurts the most to be laid off."

I told him that Norman Oliver thought Black workers shouldn't bear the brunt of unemployment just because they were on the bottom of the seniority list. He wanted to meet Oliver, who had stopped speaking and was standing in the middle of a small crowd with the bullhorn resting on his shoulder.

Moving closer, we saw that he was listening to an impatient Boston cop.

"The cop was trying to make us think we needed a permit to campaign here," Oliver explained after the man in blue had departed.

Undoubtedly, what agitated the cop more than the question of a permit was the fact that this busy, predominantly Black shopping area was alive with socialist campaign activity.

This was one of four locations our

During the day of campaigning, 8,500 copies of the Boston SWP campaign platform were distributed, along with 2,500 copies of the Socialist Workers 1976 national campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People." In addition, the teams sold 350 copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers, with Ed Heisler and Dave Bliss the two top salespeople.

The Boston campaign platform was received with interest by both whites and Blacks in the areas canvassed. The platform includes the following proposals for fighting unemployment and inflation:

- An end to layoffs; jobs for all through instituting a shorter work-week with no cut in pay to spread around available work;

- Preferential hiring and equal rights for oppressed minorities and women; protection for affirmative-action programs;

- No cutbacks in welfare, Social Security, or pension benefits;

- No cutbacks in funds for higher education; no tuition hikes;

- Cost-of-living increases in wages to protect workers from skyrocketing inflation. These increases should be pegged to the real rate of inflation as determined by committees set up by unions and consumer groups. . . . They should apply to those on welfare, Social Security, pensions, and other fixed incomes."

## Democratic candidates

The *Boston Globe* had predicted a landslide victory for incumbent Mayor Kevin White. According to their latest opinion poll, he will defeat his closest contender, State Sen. Joseph Timilty, by a 2-to-1 margin.

Timilty and White, both Democrats, are on record in opposition to busing to achieve desegregation. But the key-stone of their strategy in this race is not to talk about this issue.

"Help Boston Grow Old Gracefully—Reelect Mayor White," proclaims one of the many billboards put up by his committee. It sums up the listless tone of his campaign.

The Timilty-White competition could be "an entry in a boredom festival," the *Globe* admitted.

But "boredom" was hardly the response of the thousands of Boston shoppers reached Saturday by the socialist campaign. Racism, unemployment, and other issues were very much on their minds.

The teams visited both Black and white neighborhoods. Only Charlestown, East Boston, and South Boston—where racist gangs have been active—were avoided. *Militant* reporters have been physically attacked in these areas.

"What kind of response do you generally get from white people?" I asked Oliver. He had just been talking to a young man with the word "IRELAND" printed across his T-shirt. The man was waiting for a bus, holding a small child by the hand.

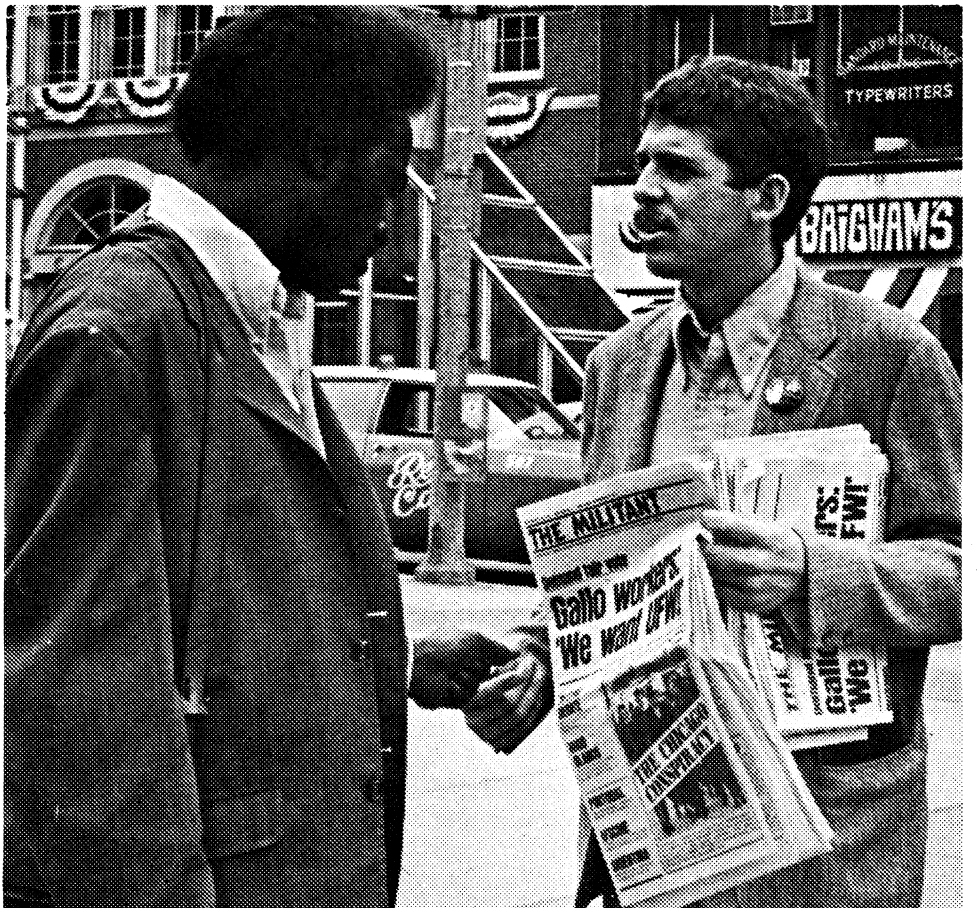
"The response is mostly confused." Nodding toward the man with the Ireland T-shirt, Oliver continued. "That man told me he was against busing, but his main concern was with safety for the children."

## At Copley Square

In Copley Square, a busy downtown shopping area, we met a young white education student from Wheelock College.

"They're spending so much money on busing, don't you think it should be put into the schools instead?" she asked.

"I don't counterpose the two," an



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Seventeen teams of campaign activists fanned out across Boston, selling 'Militants,' distributing campaign platforms, and explaining issues in mayors race.

swered Oliver. He outlined how the program of the Socialist Workers campaign called for scrapping the \$100 billion military budget and turning that money to social needs such as education.

"But in the meantime, no matter how bad Southie [South Boston High School] is, when Black students go there it's an improvement for them," Oliver added.

People in South Boston have had rocks thrown through their windows because they've sent their children on a bus, the student said, describing why her friends are afraid to express protesting sentiments.

"So you agree with me," Oliver responded. "There should be a big movement so that these friends of yours can say to the people in South Boston, 'Did you see the big demonstration last week? That's who I'm with.'"

Back at the campaign headquarters at 655 Atlantic Avenue at the end of the day, some of the campaign supporters were exchanging impressions of the day's activities.

Ollie Bivins, school committee candidate, summed it up: "The people who were out definitely knew that the Socialist Workers campaign was on the streets today."

## 'Militant' widely known

Wayne Hieber, from Brooklyn, had gone door-to-door in Orchard Park, a Black housing project in Roxbury. "We sold the *Militant*, which many people knew as a paper that was for desegregation."

"One woman who ran a vegetable truck took all of our literature and said she would have her daughter contact us."

"She gave us some fruit, saying we would need the energy if we were going to be out campaigning all day."

Hieber's team visited several hundred apartments in Orchard Park and sold forty-eight *Militants*. At one point they ran into a group of young Black students who were handing out literature for Mayor White.

"We gave them campaign material for Norman Oliver, and they said they wanted to pass that out instead, because Oliver was Black."

"The best response I got was usually from women, young women, and Black people," Ellie Beth Brady said.

This was her first full day of socialist campaigning. She got interested in the Socialist Workers campaign just recently when she approached a Young Socialist Alliance table at the University of Massachusetts.

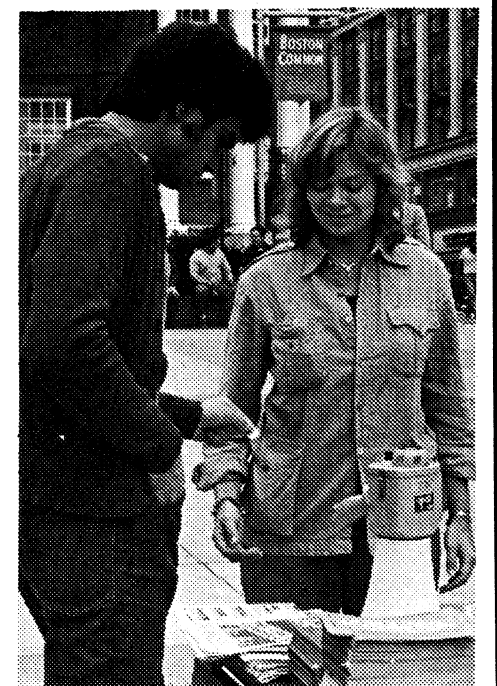
"I bought a pamphlet and signed the mailing list, naturally, and then I was called a few days later," Brady joined the YSA shortly afterward.

Gustie Trainor "learned to hawk papers during the soapbox era" of the 1930s.

"I like to do street campaigning, but I had to stay in the headquarters because of this foot injury," she said glumly. "So I dispatched the campaign supporters and answered phone calls."

That evening, about seventy campaign workers held a spirited rally during a party at the campaign headquarters.

Willie Mae Reid struck an especially responsive chord among campaign supporters when she told the campaign activists: "From Louisville to Boston, from Brooklyn and Pasadena to Detroit—you name it—wherever the people are in struggle, that's where the Socialist Workers campaign is."



Militant/Anne Teesdale

On the Boston Common



Militant/Maceo Dixon

SWP's OLIVER: 'Scrap the \$100 billion war budget and use that money for social needs.'

team of socialist campaigners visited September 20, the last Saturday before the city's primary election. The election is officially nonpartisan.

## Seventeen teams

All told, seventeen teams fanned out all over Boston. Three carloads of campaign supporters from New York joined the Boston Socialist Workers campaign supporters.

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, and Ed Heisler, chairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, had both come in to join the effort.

The Boston Socialist Workers party is fielding four candidates for city office in addition to Oliver: Ollie Bivins and Deborah Clifford are running for school committee; Jon Hillson and Reba Williams are the candidates for city council.



## 'Ineligibility' a cover-up

# Demand Kissinger OK Hugo Blanco visa

By José Pérez

In an apparent reaction to growing public pressure, the decision on whether Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco should be allowed to enter the United States is now in the hands of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Blanco had been invited to speak at many colleges and universities on "Latin America: Continent Without Justice" as part of a tour coordinated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Since Blanco applied for a visa last July, the government has been stalling on his request.

Now, Diane Villard of the State Department Visa Office told the *Militant*, the government has decided that Blanco is "ineligible for a visa under the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act."

Kissinger will decide whether the State Department will recommend to the Immigration and Naturalization Service "that a waiver of his ineligibility be granted."

According to Villard, the INS has the final say, and could refuse to go along with a recommendation that Blanco be let in.

She said that a decision from Kissinger was expected "within the next couple of days." But when asked how much longer the whole process would take, she said, "I thought it would have been settled about three weeks ago, so I would hesitate to give you any answer."

Villard specified that Blanco has been ruled "ineligible" under section 212 A-28 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

She said that law prohibits entrance to the United States to people who "write, or publish, or advocate, or teach" the overthrow of the United States or any other "organized government"; "communist doctrines"; assaulting or killing cops; "damage, or entry, or destruction of property"; or "sabotage."

When questioned as to which one of



Exiled Peruvian peasant leader declared 'ineligible' to enter U.S., but reasons are 'classified information.'

these categories Blanco specifically fell under, Villard refused to answer, claiming that "I don't have his file available right now." When pressed further she said, "I'm sorry, sir, that's classified information."

Blanco's record as an author, socialist revolutionist, peasant leader, defender of civil liberties, and victim of political repression is well known. The "classified information" line can only be considered a cover-up for the real reason the government has not given

Blanco permission to enter: they want to deny people in the United States the right to hear his views.

It is not without irony that the mastermind of the overthrow of the "organized government" of Chile will now rule on the visa application.

Blanco was one of the many political exiles in Chile at the time of the September 1973 coup, and he managed to escape prison, torture, and possible death only by seeking refuge in an embassy.

The situation is also ironic because Kissinger received a lot of favorable press coverage from his role in the signing of the Helsinki agreement last July, the latest product of the détente between Moscow and Washington.

Among the provisions of that accord is one that purportedly guarantees the right to "international contact and communications between authors and publishing houses."

Pathfinder Press, Blanco's literary agent and U.S. publisher, is demanding that Blanco be permitted to enter the United States to facilitate the "international contact" the U.S. government so sanctimoniously subscribed to last July.

Meanwhile, as the government stalls on the visa application, more messages of protest have been sent to the State Department demanding granting of the request.

Support has been strong among Chicano political figures and educators. Among those who have sent messages have been Guadalupe Youngblood, state chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida party; José Angel Gutiérrez, judge, Zavala County, Texas; Lupe Quintanilla, director of Mexican-American studies at the University of Houston; Texas State Rep. Ben Reyes; and Frobén Lozada, chairperson of the Chicano studies department, Merritt College, Oakland, California.

Others signing letters of protest include the San Francisco Coalition of Labor Union Women; Robert Allen, managing editor of the *Black Scholar*; Herman Hughes, president, Houston Typographical Union No. 87; and Jeff Mackler, executive secretary of the Hayward, California, Federation of Teachers.

USLA is urging that messages demanding the immediate granting of a visa to Blanco be sent to Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C. Copies should be sent to USLA, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 600, New York, New York 10010.

## Set march on state capitol

# Mass. students protest cutbacks, tuition hikes

By Fred Murphy

BOSTON—Thousands of students rallied on state campuses across Massachusetts September 17 to protest drastic cutbacks in the public higher education budget and an impending tuition increase of at least 100 percent.

Responding to a call issued August 10 by the Massachusetts Students to Save Public Higher Education, student activists organized rallies at the Amherst and Boston campuses of the University of Massachusetts; at Boston State College, Worcester State College, North Adams State College, Bridgewater State College, and Framingham State College; and at North Essex Community College, Cape Cod Community College, and Quinsigamond Community College.

Each of the rallies drew at least 400 students. At Boston State, more than 800 participated.

A few days later, on September 21, 110 students from around the state met at Worcester State College to plan further actions. The meeting called for a statewide march on the Massachusetts state capitol in Boston on October 22, the day the legislature is expected to vote on the proposed higher education budget.

The student leaders also planned a series of actions leading up to the

statewide march:

- On October 1, a picket line at the state capitol and local campus protests.

- From October 1 to October 10, campus teach-ins, picket lines, and other local activities.

- A Massachusetts cutbacks workshop at the Second National Student Conference Against Racism, scheduled for October 10-12 in Boston.

The present anticutback struggle began last spring at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Students there mobilized seven times in demonstrations of up to 4,000 people.

During the summer, student leaders from Amherst and other state campuses met and organized a coalition, the Massachusetts Students to Save Public Higher Education, to extend the fight against cutbacks and tuition hikes to all twenty-eight public campuses in the state. The September 17 rallies were the first big step in that process.

Among the cutbacks already instituted are a 25 percent layoff of faculty in the food science department and the elimination of 1,000 work-study student jobs at the university's Amherst campus, and the cancellation of 2,500 course slots at the Boston campus this fall.

These cuts come in a state that already ranked forty-ninth out of fifty in per capita spending on public higher education.

Now the Amherst campus is considering denying admission to 1,400 second-semester freshmen, and the Boston campus may be forced to cancel the summer school session in 1976.

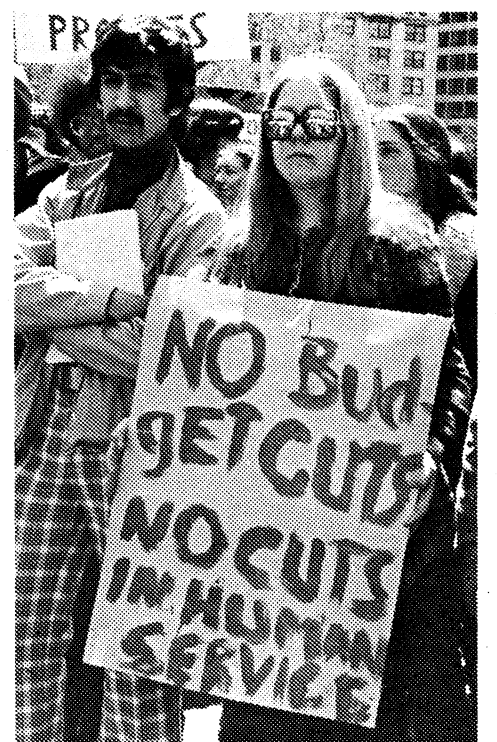
Massachusetts Democratic Gov. Michael Dukakis is carrying out his campaign vow to take a "meat cleaver" to the state budget. Cutbacks are hitting not only students but also welfare recipients, public employees, and health care and other social services.

Representatives of these affected groups participated in the September 17 rallies. Speakers from public employee unions and from the Welfare Rights Organization were well received by students.

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Boston, was among the speakers at the University of Massachusetts at Boston rally.

"By raising tuition, the state is forcing Blacks and Puerto Ricans out of school," Oliver said, "and thus segregating higher education. They are trying to duplicate what they have had for so long in the Boston public

schools: a dual school system. The fight for school desegregation and the fight against the racist cutbacks are one and the same."



Militant/Jon Hillson

University of Massachusetts students continue anticutback struggle begun last spring.

## Why the assassins?

[The following statement was issued September 24 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

The recent assassination attempts against Gerald Ford are part of the violence, hatred, and irrationality that seem to poison American society today.

Why, millions of people want to know, does this ugly, violence-charged atmosphere hang over our country? A few voices of reaction are quick to pin the blame on "radicals," "Marxists," and "violent protesters." But today, not many people will accept the pat explanations of such would-be witch-hunters.

The very same newspaper editions that tell of Ford's near escape also carry the latest revelations about secret CIA murder plots and arsenals of deadly weapons. On orders from the White House, the CIA—with its Mafia associates—systematically planned to assassinate Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, and other foreign leaders they didn't approve of.

They stockpiled cobra venom, shellfish toxin, poison gases, and horrible chemical and biological weapons, even killing some of their own employees and covering up their deaths.

Human life is counted as cheap and violence is accepted as routine by the current rulers of this country—Democrats and Republicans alike. They ordered the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; they carpet-bombed Vietnam; they organized the bloodbath in Chile; they overthrow "unfriendly" governments and train torturers for "friendly" ones.

Public officials defy desegregation laws, racist mobs burn buses in Louisville and set out to lynch Blacks in Boston—and President Ford himself eggs them on with antibusing declarations.

*It has been and is the bipartisan policy of the U.S. government to foment disregard for human rights!*

Through the Watergate scandal and subsequent revelations, the American people have begun to learn of the vast apparatus for illegal government spying, harassment, and victimization. And the official violence sets into motion its unofficial hangers-on and imitators. The woman who allegedly shot at Ford on September 22 came out of this shadowy network of FBI-paid informers and provocateurs.

The Socialist Workers party opposes everything Gerald Ford stands for, and we are campaigning vigorously against him in the 1976 elections. But the Marxist movement has from its very inception rejected individual terrorism and political assassination. When President John F. Kennedy was killed in 1963, Farrell Dobbs, then national secretary of the SWP, declared:

"Political terrorism, like suppression of political freedom, violates the democratic rights of all Americans and can only strengthen the forces of reaction. Political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard."

Our objective is a society cleansed of violence, and our goal is to win the support of the masses of American working people. The violence in this society is not a product of "human nature." Nor is it the mistaken policy or excesses of one government agency, one administration, or one party. It is a necessary prop of this decaying capitalist system, in which a wealthy ruling minority will stop at nothing to uphold its "right" to exploit and oppress the majority.

Socialists, civil rights activists, and union militants, far from perpetrating violence, have been among its chief victims in the United States. It was just revealed, for example, that the Chicago police "red squad" and U.S. Military Intelligence actually organized, funded, and armed an ultraright terrorist group, the Legion of Justice, to carry out illegal assaults on our party and others in 1969 and 1970.

During this 1976 election campaign, our headquarters in Los Angeles has been bombed twice, with campaign workers narrowly escaping death. Nazis publicly boasted of the attack, yet the police and FBI refuse to act. Will the widely voiced concern for Ford's safety now prompt government authorities to provide adequate protection for *all* candidates and defend the right of *all* political parties to function?

The Democratic and Republican party leaders would have it otherwise. Already prominent spokespersons of both parties are seizing upon the attacks on Ford to try to justify CIA and FBI spying, to demand *more* wiretaps, *more* secret files, *more* harassment of dissenters.

It is our firm belief that the only way for the government to curb the violence and safeguard political freedom is to start enforcing equal rights under the law for *everyone*, regardless of their race or political beliefs, and to call a halt to its own secret-police campaigns of harassment and violence.

## Music to their ears?

Flipping through the pages of the *Congressional Record*, I had to chuckle when I read Senate Resolution 220, to declare "God Bless America" the official bicentennial song in the United States.

The bill is now in the Committee on the Judiciary, and its authors are Senators James Buckley and Barry Goldwater.

If any two should invoke God's blessings, these two are it.

M. Mooney

Los Angeles, California

## Quite an achievement?

David Frankel's recent article "Mideast deal sets stage for new Vietnam" and your opinion "U.S. stay out!" [*Militant*, September 12] about the second-stage peace agreement in the Sinai seemed to me to be naïve on a number of issues, the most outstanding one being on the nature of the Sinai itself.

I understand that the Young Socialist Alliance supports the return of all post-1967 occupied Arab lands to the countries governing them before the June war. Some socialist groups in Israel and in many Arab countries support the same plan. But there is no one "socialist" way of implementing this plan. Its implementation is certainly much harder than the *Militant* seems to think.

The political spectrum in both Israel and the Arab countries is unparalleled—ranging from fanatics promoting the complete take-over of all ancient Israelite land, to fanatics promoting the complete destruction of Jews throughout the world.

Any viable and peaceful socialist policy concerned with this conflict must realize that any peaceful arbitration between Israel and Egypt is quite an achievement.

The Sinai is now a crucial military area and nothing more. "Zionist imperialism" there is simply the occupation of land that would otherwise be the gateway to Israel's destruction at this time.

The recent agreement between Israel and Egypt has promulgated peace through large economic and political concessions for the betterment of Egypt and by prolonging Israel's occupation of a military buffer zone necessary for her survival.

Tony Hoffman

Portland, Oregon

## Soviet dissidents

I would like to raise a few points in connection with the editorial material that accompanied the letter "To Communists of Europe & the USA" in the September 12 *Militant*.

Under the picture on page 13, the caption said, "Actually, most antibureaucratic dissidents view themselves as Marxists." In the introductory material you said: "The fact is that most Soviet oppositionists have based their activities on the Leninist concept of socialist democracy, and have turned to the writings of Lenin on the nature of the transitional regime for inspiration."

While your statements are true of many opponents of the Kremlin bureaucracy and its policies, and while it is also true that the overwhelming majority of the dissidents we know of are pro-socialist and do not want a return to tsarist rule or a restoration of capitalism, it is not clear that most of them view themselves as Marxists or explicitly maintain that they oppose the bureaucracy as Leninists.

There are many antibureaucratic dissidents who do and there are many who consider themselves communists. However, unfortunately, there are also many dissidents who equate Marxism and Leninism with the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which falsely claims to represent Marxism and Leninism.

It is important to bear this fact in mind when viewing the opposition in the Soviet Union today. Because the bureaucracy has been very effective in discrediting the ideas of Marx, Lenin, and the Bolsheviks, there seems, in fact, to be a good deal of confusion in the minds of many dissidents, which has been manifested from time to time in their attitudes toward events in the world outside the Soviet Union and also in their proposals as to how to bring about democratization within the USSR.

Because the information we receive on the opposition in the Soviet Union is irregular and incomplete, it is extremely difficult to generalize as to what current of thought predominates among those who are actively involved in the struggle against the bureaucracy and its policies.

Marilyn Vogt

New York, New York

## On busing

I am shocked to learn in the *Militant* that revolutionary socialists are supporting forced busing. The people can't be forced to accept desegregation, just as the workers can't be forced to accept socialism. Racial equality will come about when the economic and social forces that put Black against white are destroyed, not by idiotic plans like busing children out of their neighborhood.

Bob Hespe

Red Bank, New Jersey

## Double standard

A recent article in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* explained why Arnold Pinkney, the leading Democratic party contender for mayor of Cleveland in the upcoming "nonpartisan" primary, would not be ruled off the ballot.

The question of ballot status arose when election workers were checking signatures on Pinkney's petitions to determine if he had the 3,000 signatures required. The workers could not find Pinkney's master petition.

The election board checked with their legal advisor (the assistant county prosecutor) to see if Pinkney would have to be ruled off the ballot. According to him, the petitions were valid because the mayoral race is determined by the city charter and not by state law, which requires a master petition.

So, Pinkney survived the technicality.

The ruling was met with ironic laughter from supporters of Robert Bresnahan, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor. It was another example of how elections are rigged in Ohio to elect only Democratic and Republican party candidates.

In 1971, John Hawkins, the SWP Black candidate for mayor, submitted 16,000 signatures (more than any other candidate). The election board ruled Hawkins off the ballot, stating that he was not a "properly filed candidate." This unfavorable ruling was then confirmed by Secretary of State Ted Brown.

With the aid of the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union, the SWP campaign sued to regain ballot status. Despite broad support for Hawkins from many



# **international socialist review**

**EVELYN REED:**

## **‘Sociobiology’-- The New Pseudoscience**



**Also, Robert Meeropol:**

**OPEN THE ROSENBERG FILES!**

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Which Way Forward?

The installation of a new coalition cabinet in Lisbon September 19 marked an open shift to the right by the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and highlighted the crisis of leadership facing the working people of Portugal.

The new premier, Adm. José Pinheiro de Azevedo, who replaced Communist-party-backed Gen. Vasco Gonçalves, announced that the government would immediately slow down or halt the process of nationalizations and would take steps to restore the confidence of private investors.

In another reactionary move, the MFA regime had announced August 29 that it was suspending its promise to grant independence to its colony Angola on November 11 of this year.

In the other imperialist capitals there were expressions of satisfaction over the reshuffled regime in Lisbon. U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger announced his conclusion that there seemed still to be hope for capitalism in Portugal after all.

The ruling circles in Lisbon felt confident to carry out this open move to the right only because the working class has been divided and demoralized by the policies of their leaderships. The two mass working-class parties, the Communist and Socialist parties, have allowed themselves to be used against each other to the benefit of the MFA, the instrument of capitalist rule.

The MFA began, after the coup in April 1974, to use the CP as a strikebreaker against the rest of the workers, including the SP workers. The MFA backed up the CP's control of the trade-union federation Intersindical by outlawing the formation of any other union federation. When the Constituent Assembly elections last April exposed relatively small support for the CP and MFA, the military regime continued to use the CP as its cat's paw in cracking down on the democratic rights of the SP and others to criticize the government.

A turning point came in July, when the SP leadership finally left the previous MFA coalition government and took to the streets, bringing out tens of thousands of working people in protest.

The military chiefs recognized that the usefulness of the CP to the capitalist rulers was rapidly becoming exhausted and its popular base narrowed. Its attacks on democratic rights provided cover for a right-wing terror campaign against the Left.

As soon as a wing of the military began to consider conciliation with the SP, the party leaders were ready to jump back into the role of loyal supporters of the MFA. Now the SP

tops have joined the CP in the latest coalition government, ready to lend their endorsement, however qualified in words, to the coming offensive to halt and turn back the economic and political gains that have been made by the masses.

The smaller groups that claim to represent a revolutionary alternative to the Communist and Socialist parties have unfortunately provided no such thing. Their so-called Revolutionary United Front (Frente de Unidade Revolucionária—FUR), formed August 25, was based not on a program of action in defense of the burning needs of workers and poor peasants. It was based fundamentally on support to the Gonçalves wing of the MFA. And it helped maintain the division of the working class by adopting the Stalinists' sectarian stance of equating the SP with reaction.

The Portuguese masses have by no means been defeated. The strength of the radicalization is reflected in the fact that even in their new rightward shift, the military rulers feel compelled to pose as revolutionaries and as opponents of the big capitalists who control the country.

The way forward lies in a perspective of patiently working to reunite the working class in struggle for its own economic and political rights, placing no confidence in any of the wings of the military hierarchy. In order to win anything—even in a single factory—the workers must mobilize in their majority; that is, the supporters of the main working-class parties must be convinced to unite in struggle for common demands. Even a small group of revolutionists campaigning for this united-front, class-struggle strategy can grow rapidly because it will become known by the workers as the party that has no sectarian interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class and all the oppressed.

This road of building the conscious, united power of the working class is the way to construct a mass revolutionary workers party that can bring to fruition the aspirations of the Portuguese people for a society free of exploitation.

## Setback for Racists

The racist antibusing forces were dealt a blow this fall in Boston and in Louisville, Kentucky. Despite disruptions, the buses rolled and Black students were generally protected. In Boston, this fall's busing plan involved 26,000 students, which was 45 percent more than last fall. In Louisville, the desegregation plan was the first in the nation that involved busing between the central city and suburbs, setting an important precedent.

In contrast to last fall, the federal, state, and local governments felt compelled to use force to defend desegregation. In Boston nearly 1,900 police and federal marshals were used. In Louisville, national guard troopers rode on each school bus.

Even the modest force employed by law enforcement officials was sufficient to stymie the racists' plans. This proved that the racist terror-mobs do not represent the majority in communities like Charlestown or South

Boston. And it proved that busing for desegregation can be carried out safely if the government commits the forces necessary to defend the elementary rights of Black people.

The reason the government felt compelled to give greater protection to Black students this year is because of the growth of resistance to the racists—including organized countermobilizations—in the Black community and among its allies.

For one thing, the implications of the busing struggle have become clearer over the past year. The desegregation controversy came to be a test not only of the right to an equal education, but of the right of Black people to walk on public streets in any area of the city, or to use public beaches.

Furthermore, the resolve and confidence of the Black community have been strengthened by the organized protests that openly raised a challenge to the racists. These included the May 17 demonstration, the August 10 Carson Beach protest, and many other actions and legal fights carried out by the NAACP, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and other groups.

But this struggle is far from over. Black people are still not safe on the streets of Boston. And despite the federal government's steps toward enforcement of existing desegregation orders, President Ford has been traveling around the country this fall making public statements giving aid and comfort to the racists. The Democrats are no better, as illustrated in the September 21 statement by presidential hopeful Sargent Shriver calling court-ordered busing "counterproductive."

As illustrated by Louisville, the busing controversy is spreading. More than two dozen school desegregation cases in which busing could be ordered for other cities are now pending in the courts.

The setback for the racists in Boston and Louisville needs to be followed up with a continuing campaign to isolate the antibusing forces and stop the racist violence. The racist offensive needs to be confronted on other grounds as well—from the fight against cutbacks in services to the Black community, to the defense of Chicano farm workers, to the defense of victims of racist frame-ups such as Delbert Tibbs, Ray Mendoza, and J.B. Johnson.

A good way to begin is to attend the Second National Student Conference Against Racism, to be held at Northeastern University in Boston October 10-12. Sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism, it is also supported by the National Education Association and the National Student Association. It will provide an excellent opportunity to exchange experiences and plan out a future course of struggle.

**Next month's International Socialist Review will be a special expanded issue devoted to the main resolution adopted by the 1975 convention of the Socialist Workers party: "The Decline of American Capitalism and Prospects for a Socialist Revolution."**

**We will want readers' opinions, questions, and suggestions on this important document. Don't miss it.**

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# The Latest Pseudoscience

Edward Wilson's highly touted 'Sociobiology' is an extension of old theories reducing humanity to animality. Evelyn Reed refutes his thesis that human society is biologically determined and shows how it is qualitatively different from a termite colony.

## Sociobiology The New Synthesis

By Edward O. Wilson. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1975. 697 pp.

## By Evelyn Reed

The eminent Harvard zoologist Edward Wilson, whose specialty is the study of insects, mainly ants, published an authoritative work on the subject in 1971 called *The Insect Societies*. Now, four years later, that work has been largely incorporated into a massive tome called *Sociobiology*.

With its 700 outsize pages, 120 of them devoted to glossary, bibliography, and index, the new abundantly illustrated book weighs nearly six pounds. For all that, it is retrogressive compared to his earlier work. Wilson has here amplified his entomological studies with some reports on birds, mammals, and primates in order to draw exclusively biological conclusions about human life and behavior.

Sociobiology is a word so new that it will not be found in dictionaries fifteen years old. The term implies the fusion of two sciences, sociology (or anthropology) and biology, correlating the relevant findings from both to shed light upon the origin and nature of human society.

But Wilson does not weave the two together. He excludes the decisive productive, social, and cultural factors that mark humans off from all forms of animal life and views all evolution, social as well as natural, as predominantly biological. This interpretation is even more narrowly reduced to "genetic

*Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, author of Woman's Evolution, has lectured on anthropology and women's liberation on campuses throughout the United States as well as in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan.*

evolution." Since genes make up all organic life from bacteria to human beings, Wilson perceives no qualitative jump from animal evolution to human evolution. In his view all species that aggregate into groups (and all species do) are lumped together indiscriminately as "societies." Wilson's book, despite its new prefix "socio," is really about biology.

This attempt to explain human life in terms of animals, birds, and insects is not new. Biologism has been with us ever since Darwin set forth his theory of evolution. Once the animal origin of humans was ascertained, the Garden of Eden myth was replaced by the scientific study of the genesis of humankind. This required an examination of animal evolution and then of the socializing factors that transformed a certain branch of the higher apes into the first hominids.

Mechanical-minded thinkers, however, could not pass beyond the biological factors that led to human life. They inflated certain characteristics common to both humans and animals while underplaying or erasing the vast distinctions between them. The school of biologism gave birth to two main trends of thought: one emphasizing animal competition and the other animal cooperation to account for human competition and cooperation.

The first fostered "social Darwinism," which is sometimes called the "nothing but" school. Man, its proponents said, was nothing but an animal with a few extra tricks. The catchwords "struggle for survival" and "survival of the fittest" were bandied about to buttress the thesis that animal jungle relations were carried over into the modern capitalist jungle. The proposition that "human nature never changes" meant that human nature is nothing but animal nature.

The other tendency, offended by the one-sidedness of the tooth-and-claw theorists, affirmed that not only competition but cooperation could be found in animal behavior. They pointed to the "social insects" as confirmation. This thesis was popularized by Wilson's predecessor at Harvard, W.M. Wheeler,

another renowned entomologist. In 1922, after the First World War and the Russian revolution, he gave six lectures on the cooperative insects that were subsequently published in the book *Social Life Among the Insects* (Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1923).

Wheeler was imbued with good intentions. He singled out the insects, he said, because "they represent Nature's most startling efforts in communal organization," and thus had "developed a cooperative communism so complete that in comparison the most radical of our bolsheviks are ultraconservative capitalists" (pp. 5, 8). He appealed for worldwide disarmament on the basis that, if such "organic cooperativeness" could exist among insects, it could surely prevail among men. In place of Rousseau's "noble savage," Wheeler saw a model for superior humans in the "noble insect."

Nonetheless, Wheeler's kindly endeavor remained within the confines of biologism. In place of the notion that man is "nothing but" an animal there arose a more subtle variation of the same theme. Human society was viewed as "nothing but" an extension of insect "societies" with a few cultural features added. Soon other specialists began to jump on the bandwagon of humanizing the insects and insecticizing the humans.

Some eminent anthropologists carried forward this insect biologism. In 1953, thirty years after Wheeler's book came out, A. L. Kroeber, former dean of American anthropology, wrote in all seriousness, "Social behavior extends far back in the history of life on earth—certain insect families are much more effectively socialized than we are" (*Anthropology Today*, University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. xiv). Today Wilson propagates the same theme in his *Sociobiology*.

But Wilson's net takes in far more than the "social insects." His "societies" include every species from the lowest to the highest. For example, in an illustration he uses, the term "social bacterium" (p. 392). Then come certain molds, corals, sponges, and jellyfish types. At the very top stands man. In

between, along with his insect aggregates, Wilson elevates all the other species to social status. Among them are the dolphin schools, dog packs, elephant herds, lion prides, and primate troops.

In comparing the virtues of all these "societies," Wilson finds the most perfect to be not the highest but the lowest. He presents a theory of evolutionary values in reverse. It is not the vertebrates but invertebrates, such as the jellyfish types, that have "come close to producing perfect societies," he says (p. 379). The ants, termites, and other social insects are "less than perfect." Least perfect are the mammals, including the primates, which are in the direct line of human ascent. "Why has the overall trend been downward?" he queries, but cannot find an adequate answer.

However, according to Wilson, human societies "have reversed the downward trend in social evolution that prevailed over one billion years of the previous history of life." This progress is due to the fact that we have finally made our way to becoming more like the insect societies "in cooperativeness" and have even surpassed them in "communication" (pp. 379-380). This is Wilson's style in biologism.

It is not enough to add the prefix "socio" to biology to explain the distinctive attributes that have elevated our species above all others. Humans cannot be defined through biological factors alone. The same holds true for society, which is an exclusively human acquisition. Although humans retain certain features in common with the animals, once they created their own social and cultural institutions they made a drastic departure from the animal condition—and became non-animal, or human. This has been abundantly demonstrated by scholars in such social sciences as archaeology, paleontology, anthropology, and sociology.

Even before the word "sociobiology" was coined, scholars in the humanities began correlating the relevant findings from biology and sociology, including their related sciences, to shed light on



An aggregate of bees, which, like ants and termites, have merely reproduced themselves in essentially the same ways over a billion years.



Only the toolmaking, laboring humans can create a social organization capable of progressive development of production and the creation of new needs.

how, when, and why the great change-over occurred from animality to humanity. Among these was Gordon Childe with his classics, *Man Makes Himself* (New American Library, 1951) and *What Happened in History* (Penguin, 1960).

These scholars began not with bacteria, jellyfish, or termites, but with the primates, the immediate predecessors of humans. They explained why humanity could not have emerged from any species lower than the higher apes of the primate order. Apes, as the highest species to evolve in the billion-year history of animal evolution, alone had developed the biological preconditions required for the emergence of humans.

Among these were upright posture, stereoscopic vision, the hand, the brain, and vocal organs. However, it was the freed hand with the opposable thumb that led all the rest in effecting the transformation. It was not the mandibles of insects, nor the fins of whales, nor the paws of four-footed mammals, but the hand of the highest ape species that led to toolmaking and labor activities, and therewith to the transition from ape to hominid.

No other species below the level of humans can make tools in order to produce the necessities of life—and along with this to produce new needs. From the time of the first stone axes and digging sticks these new needs and the means of satisfying them have advanced, at first slowly and then with astronomical speed and abundance, up to the jet plane and the spaceship.

But to accomplish this it was necessary for the first hordes of hominids to band together in social organization for collective production and mutual sharing of products and know-how with one another. As Gordon Childe defines society, it is "a co-operative organization for producing means to satisfy its needs, for reproducing itself—and for producing new needs" (*What Happened in History*, p. 17).

Animals share with humans only one of these capacities: that is the capacity to reproduce themselves. But the production of the necessities of life and the production of new needs is exclusively human. From this standpoint we can say that production—and the social organization required for its achievement—marks the great dividing line between humans and animals. Thus a billion years of purely animal evolution was climaxed about a million years ago when the first toolmaking hominids appeared on earth and set forth on their own wholly new course of social evolution.

Thereafter humans drastically changed the relationship between themselves and nature as contrasted with the animals. Animals are the creatures of nature, restricted to specific environments to which they must adapt themselves or perish. They are completely dependent upon what nature yields for their sustenance, unlike humans, who can cultivate the ground and produce an abundance of food. Animals are obliged to satisfy their physical needs with little or no variation in their standardized behavior patterns, while humans can roam the globe, altering their surroundings and the materials found in them for their new needs.

As social beings humans developed their minds and intellectual capacities, along with language, culture, arts, and sciences. As they became increasingly the controllers and masters of external nature, they also changed their former animal nature into human nature.

Those who fail to see the part played by labor in the making of humankind are unable to explain how speech, language, and culture began. Wilson writes, "The great dividing line in the evolution of communication lies between man and all of the remaining ten million or so species of organisms." He

even contrasts "one of the most sophisticated of all animal communication systems, the celebrated waggle dance of the honeybee," with "our own unique verbal system" (p. 177). But he does not explain how this unique acquisition of articulate speech and language came into existence.

It grew up directly out of labor activities, out of the need for the collaborating producers to communicate with one another as well as to pass on their techniques to new generations. While our communication systems are indeed unique, the great dividing line between us and the animals originated with toolmaking and labor activities.

Wilson carefully avoids any discussion of toolmaking or production. But he is clearly on the side of those primatologists who underplay its importance in human life. They say that, since primates make and use tools just as humans do, this cannot provide the essential difference between them. For evidence Jane Goodall and others point to the fact that some primates have occasionally been seen to defoliate a twig and insert it under a rock to get at ants or other edibles. Wilson devotes several pages to such examples of animal "tool using," citing nine ways in which primates can manipulate twigs, leaves, and sticks (pp. 172-175).

Primates in the wild may occasionally defoliate a twig to dig out ants, and they are capable of manipulating all sorts of objects with their hands. But this does not represent toolmaking or labor activities to produce the necessities of life. Primates do not regularly depend upon twig manipulation but upon their bare hands to grasp food and convey it to their mouths. Humans by contrast are dependent upon their toolmaking and productive activities for survival. If their production ceases they will perish.

Primate practices with twigs and sticks do give us a clue to the crucial importance of the freed and flexible primate hand at that critical turning point when our branch of the higher apes began to make tools and engage in systematic labor activities. But that transition from ape to human occurred only once on this planet with a special branch of the primate species a million years ago. Since then, humans have remained the only toolmakers and producers on earth, qualitatively distinct from all lower species. In other words, a billion years of purely animal evolution resulted in a revolutionary change—the departure of one species, the hominids, from its former animal conditions of existence.

Wilson's notion that human society is only a slightly improved version of insect societies by virtue of its improved means of communication is completely off base. The insect aggregate is directed to one purpose: the reproduction and perpetuation of their species. To be sure, insects have their own specialized mode of reproduction, which differs from that of the mammals. Among mammals, including the primates, the same mother that gives birth nurtures and protects the offspring. Among the insects there is a division of functions within the whole aggregate; the egg-laying female lays the eggs while other, nonbreeding, females feed and protect the grubs.

However, insects are a divergent offshoot from the main road of organic evolution leading to humankind—a point that Wilson fails to make clear. The point of departure for mammalian and human evolution begins with the vertebrates that grew up out of the earlier invertebrates. Originating as fish, the backboneed creatures evolved into amphibians, reptiles, and then into mammals. Out of the mammals there arose the monkeys and apes, with the highest branch of apes evolving into the first hominids. Insects have no place in this line of evolution from the vertebrate fish to the backboneed human

beings.

The significant point is that however much the modes of reproduction differ among the various species in the animal world, there are none below the level of humans that can make tools and produce things to satisfy their needs, and generate new needs. Contrary to Wilson, insect aggregates do not furnish a prototype of human society. For if humans did no more than reproduce their kind, they would not be humans but simply primates like the chimpanzee and gorilla.

Wilson's attempt to characterize every species of animals and subanimals as "societies" is reminiscent of our primitive ancestors, who believed that animals, fish, and so forth, were organized into social clans and tribes like their own. Some thought buffalo could shoot with bows and arrows if only they had them. Others thought fish had their own territories, games, and ball parks and that crocodiles could enter into peace negotiations with tribesmen. Primitive people were ignorant of the biological facts of life and thus attempted to elevate animals to the human level. The Harvard professor tries to reduce humans to the animal and insect level because he disregards the social factors that make humans qualitatively different.

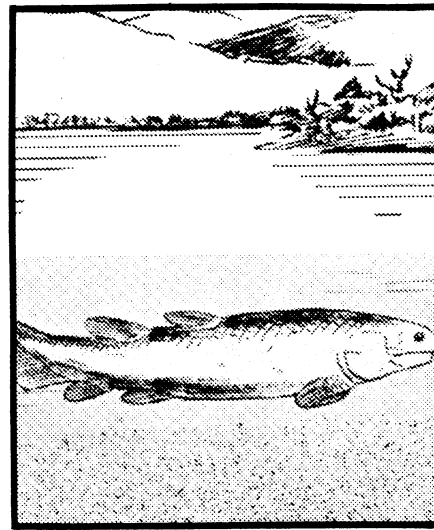
In Charles Darwin's day, in the struggle against the anti-evolutionists, it was imperative to bring out the continuity between ourselves and the rest of living nature. Now it is necessary to insist on the discontinuity between humans and animals against the biologizers, Wilson included.

In the *New York Times* advertisement of Wilson's book the headline read, "Now There's One Science for All Social Creatures." His "new synthesis" for the first time covers the "whole range of social creatures—from bacteria to termites, from monkeys to mankind," it says. This is highly misleading. A review of natural history cannot explain anything more than the preconditions for human life. It requires social history and the science of sociology to explain the origin and unique attributes of human life and culture. Wilson's "one science for all" is not a new synthesis of sociology and biology but only a new variation of an old theme—biologism—as a replacement for the scientific understanding of society.

Like other biologizers Wilson uses modern class and capitalist terms to describe animal and insect life. His "social insects" are divided into "castes" with a queen at the top ruling over "workers" and "soldiers." This practice is not original with Wilson; the concept of class divisions among insects has quite a long history, although Wilson only goes as far back as 1609 with Charles Butler's *The Feminine Monarchie* (p. 298). What is surprising is that Wilson, whose extensive studies make him one of the world's leading authorities in advanced entomology, continues to use erroneous terms that were applied in the infancy of the science.

Almost fifty years ago Robert Briffault, citing Aristotle, Pliny, and others, showed the origin and evolution of these misleading terms. He wrote that the ancients regarded the egg-laying female as a patriarchal male and called it the "king." Corresponding to their politics, the bees were divided into "patricians" and "plebeians." When the true sexes of the insects later became known, the egg-laying female was called the "queen." By the nineteenth century the beehive was freely compared to capitalist industry—a "hive of industry" (*The Mothers*, vol. I, pp. 161-162).

In one way Wilson's biologism differs from most. He is willing to grant a few "matrilineal" societies in nature rather than make them uniformly patriarchal.



The ascent from the fish, the earliest vertebrate, to humankind, a qualitatively new species.



Although the very word "matriarchy" is enough to make most anthropologists shudder these days, Wilson feels safe in including these within his zoological framework. For example, the "castes" in his insect colonies are all female, from the "queen" down to the "workers" and "soldiers." Males are present but only to inseminate the egg-laying female (p. 314).

Among the hoofed mammals, or ungulates, where female herds generally keep apart from males except for the rutting season, Wilson singles out the African elephant as a striking example of a "matriarch" in charge of her daughters and granddaughters. These "female-female bonds can be assumed last as long as 50 years," he writes, and adds, "The matriarch rallies the others and leads them from one place to another. She takes the forward position when confronting danger and the rear position during retreats." This is accompanied by a picture of these intelligent animals in protective formation with their young. In the background are peripheral males, two fighting each other for dominance (pp. 494-497).

In another instance Wilson speaks of the "matrilineal" red deer, where a female leads the herd and another female brings up the rear. As with the African elephants, he points out, the adult females and males stay apart except during the rutting season (p. 312). Again, the caption of a picture illustrating the reconstructed "social life" of the dinosaurs of many millions of years ago reads: "A herd of females and young moves in from the left, led by an old matriarch. In the foreground two males fight for dominance" (pp. 446-447).

Among the carnivores, which stand higher in animal evolution than the ungulates, Wilson shows that the lion pride is more accurately a pride of lionesses; here too the males are peripheral. "The core of a lion pride is a closed sisterhood of several adult females. . . ." he writes. "The degree of cooperation that the female members display is one of the most extreme recorded for mammal species other than man. The lionesses often stalk prey by fanning out and then rushing simultaneously from different directions. Their young, like calves of the African elephant, are maintained in something like a crèche: each lactating female . . . will permit [the cubs] of other pride members to suckle. A single cub may wander to three, four, or five nursing females in succession. . . . The adult males, in contrast, exist as partial parasites on the females" (p. 504).

Above the carnivores are the primates. Wilson writes that the macaques and chimpanzees are "matrifocal" in the choice of helpers. The females band together and trust their infants to one another. He notes of the rhesus monkeys that "the mother comes to trust the females and to use them as baby sitters while she conducts foraging trips." Puzzled by this female cooperation, he asks: "Why should females care for the infants of others, and why should mothers tolerate such behavior?" (p. 350).

Wilson, who is so foggy about the qualitative species distinction between humans and animals, seems to be equally at sea about the sex differentiation in nature. He exclaims, "Why do the sexes differ so much?" He observes that "often the two sexes differ so much as to seem to belong to different species." Among ants and other insects "males and females are so strikingly distinct in appearance that they can be matched with certainty to species only by discovering them in copula." With some fishes "the males are reduced to parasitic appendages attached to the bodies of the females" (p. 318).

In certain species of insects the egg-laying female or "queen" lives to four

and a half years but "the males, in contrast, enjoy only one to three weeks of adult existence" (p. 140). Among the ants, bees, and wasps, "males are usually discriminated against as a group. They are offered less food by the workers. . . . and in times of starvation they are frequently driven from the nest or killed" (p. 203). Among certain dance flies "the female occasionally seizes and eats the male" (p. 227). Apparently the so-called black widow spider is not unique.

It would seem that these and other facts about insects would dispel Wilson's illusion that they can be classified as "societies." Men are not mere appendages of women, rendered useless and doomed to die after a stud performance; they are not discriminated against or eaten by females. On the contrary, after having been trained in productive techniques by the women of the matriarchal period, they went on to become the social, cultural, and political leaders of patriarchal society. It is odd that Wilson, like Kroeber and Wheeler, should believe that insect aggregates furnish a model for human society.

The sole function of the subhuman sexes is to perpetuate the species. The male role is limited to inseminating the female. The functions of giving birth and caring for and protecting the offspring are, in the overwhelming majority of species, assumed by the females, who normally segregate themselves from the quarreling males during the maternal cycle. This uneven development of the sexes results in an antagonism between sex and maternity, which was carried over into the first stage of human life and had to be resolved through social means.

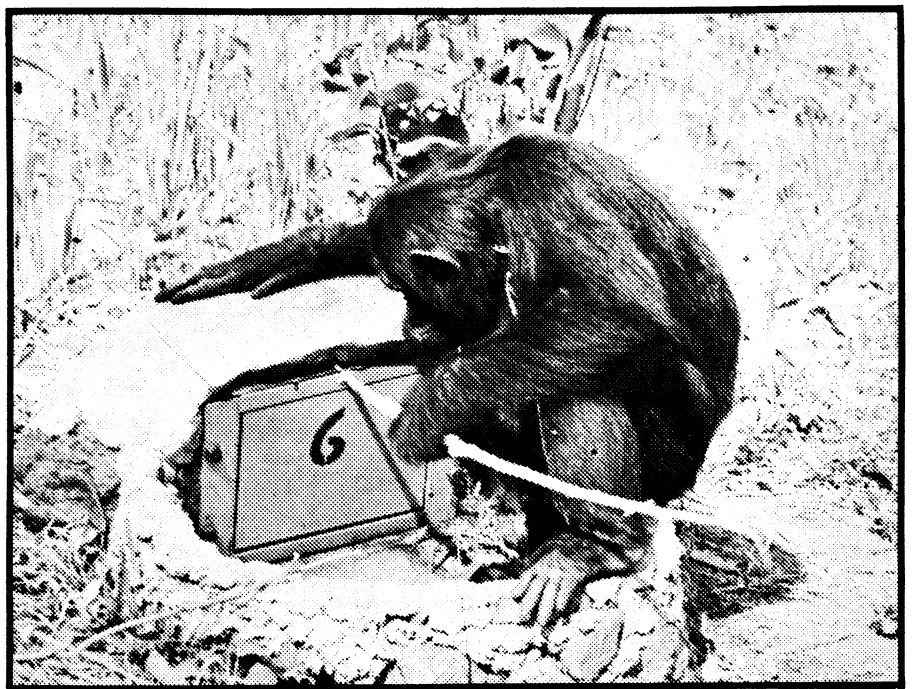
Wilson is well aware of this antagonism in nature. He takes issue with Konrad Lorenz for minimizing the competitive strife in the animal world. He writes, "The annals of lethal violence among vertebrate species are beginning to lengthen. Male Japanese and pig-tailed macaques have been seen to kill one another under seminatural and captive conditions when fighting for supremacy. . . . In central India, roaming langur males sometimes invade established troops, oust the dominant male, and kill all of the infants. . . . Young black-headed gulls . . . are attacked and sometimes killed by other gulls. . . ."

"The evidence of murder and cannibalism in mammals and other vertebrates has now accumulated to the point that we must completely reverse the conclusion advanced by Konrad Lorenz in his book *On Aggression*. . . ." (p. 246). According to Wilson, violence among animals of many species far exceeds that among humans in present-day society.

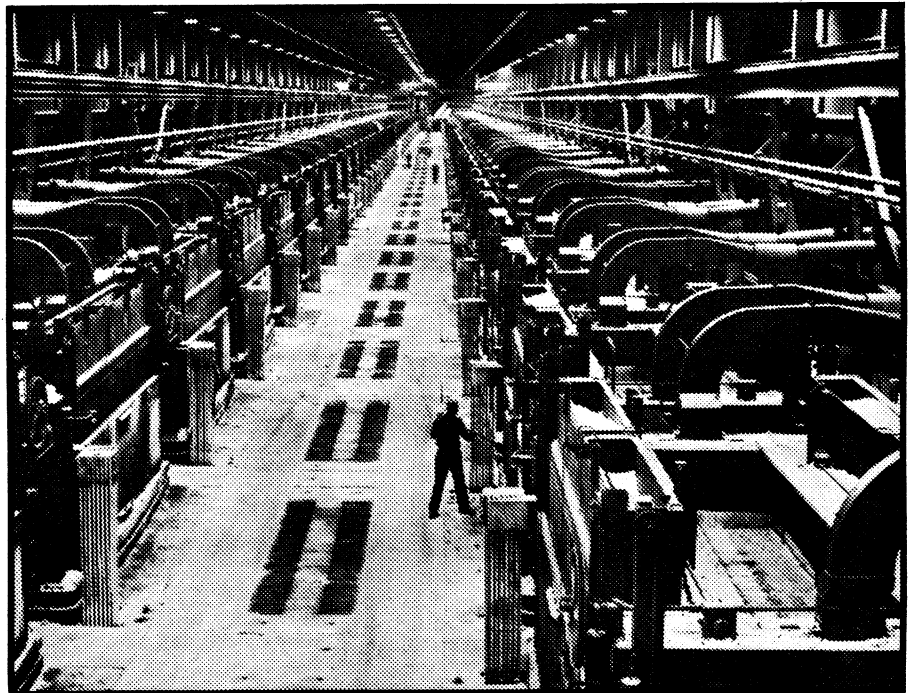
From evidence that has long been recognized by other scholars, Wilson concludes that "sex is an antisocial force in evolution. Bonds are formed between individuals in spite of sex and not because of it." From the broader standpoint he writes, "Social evolution is constrained and shaped by the necessities of sexual reproduction and not promoted by it." Oddly enough, he admits that this is true even of his model cooperative insect "societies." He observes that "the antagonism between sex and sociality is most strikingly displayed in the social insects" (pp. 314-315). Logical consistency is clearly not the hallmark of biologism.

The primacy of the female sex in nature and the marked differences between the sexes were long ago spelled out by Briffault in his matriarchal theory of social origins. With the exception of a few species where males are adapted to assist the females in the care of offspring, the general rule—especially among mammals—is that the females alone feed and protect their young.

Wilson himself writes that "the



Peter Marler



A chimpanzee, despite its flexible hands, is limited to merely manipulating sticks and other objects. Only one branch of the higher apes became the toolmaking humans, capable of unlimited powers in technical know-how.

mother-offspring group is the universal nuclear unit of mammalian societies" (p. 456). What he fails to understand is that these maternal functions placed females in the lead at that turning point in history when the animal maternal brood was transmuted by labor activities into the human maternal clan system of social organization.

Although Wilson recognizes the primacy of the female sex in nature to a certain extent, he incorrectly refers to animal females as "matriarchs" and to their herds, packs, or prides as "matrilineal societies." The capacity of mammalian females to band together and suckle their offspring in common gives us valuable clues—along with the flexible hand and other anatomical organs—to the biological *preconditions* for human life. But to explain the matriarchy we must delve into the *conditions* required for human survival and development, and for this we must refer to other sciences, beginning with anthropology.

In anthropology, however, Wilson takes his cues from the prevailing academic schools, which are antimatriarchy and insist that the father-family and male supremacy have always existed. This obliges him to describe animal behavior in patriarchal terms that often conflict with his matriarchal terms. Thus he repeatedly refers to animal and insect reproductive broods as family "kin" composed not only of fathers and mothers but also of uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews, and cousins of all degrees. This corresponds to his view that the "nuclear family," which he regards as the "building block of nearly all human societies" (p. 553), has existed from time immemorial throughout the animal world.

In a similar vein he sees sexism as a universal trait, present in the animal as

well as the human worlds. He refers to the "rampant *machismo*"—a term used today to signify male supremacy over women—that exists among some insects (p. 320). What he actually describes is not male chauvinism toward females but the fierce struggles of males against other males for dominance.

The same is true of the "violent *machismo*" he says exists in the breeding season among many other species, including sheep, deer, antelopes, grouse, lek birds, and elephant seals, where the males fight one another for dominance (p. 243). These struggles between males have no connection whatever with supremacy over females. Such supremacy did not exist in matriarchal society, much less in the animal world, where the primacy of females is so pronounced.

Wilson's notions about universal sexism converge with those of the cruder anthropologists today. In describing some male animals who keep "harems" and exercise strong "leadership," Wilson writes, "The obvious parallels to human behavior have been noted by several writers, but most explicitly and persuasively by Tiger (1969) and Tiger and Fox (1971)" (p. 287).

Elsewhere he names all five of the best-known popularizers and the most vulgar distorters of anthropology and biology: Ardrey, Morris, Lorenz, Tiger, and Fox. He commends these gentlemen for their "style and vigor." His only criticism is that "their particular handling of the problem tended to be inefficient and misleading." This comes down to an insufficient sampling of animal species to sustain their generalizations (p. 551).

Wilson is annoyed because some of the crudities of Tiger and Fox brought about a counter "feminist theory" in the

book by Elaine Morgan, *The Descent of Woman* (1971). Her aquatic theory likens human females to whales and other sea mammals to show that from the beginning females have been fully the equals of males. Since her book also became a best seller, Wilson complains that "science" is now becoming a "wide-open game in which any number can play" (p. 29).

Indeed, once human society is biologized, anyone can play the game by inventing a fanciful hypothesis equating us with animals. Elaine Morgan's book at least has the merit of a refreshing new type of biologism compared to the stale myths of eternal male supremacy. However, despite the concessions he makes to animal matriarchs, Wilson prefers to play his overall game with the well-worn chips of the Tiger-Fox band.

Thus he depicts the animal aggregates of females and offspring with the male stud attached to the group as a "harem" under the domination of a male lord and master. He calls this "polygamy" as compared to "monogamy," both of which he has projected from the patriarchal marriage institution of our times back into the animal world.

Wilson gives the game away, however, with his peculiar definitions of these marriage forms. He writes: "*Monogamy* is the condition in which one male and one female join to rear at least a single brood. It lasts for a season and sometimes, in a small minority of species, extends for a lifetime. *Polygamy* in the broad sense covers any form of multiple mating" (p. 327). Both of these definitions are misleading when applied to animal relations.

However much the marriage institution has been shaken in recent years, monogamy remains a legal term signifying property provisions for life for wife and children. The loose and casual sexual intercourse of animals is carried on without reference to legality or to any property or economic provisions. As for the polygamy of the early patriarchs, "multiple marriage" was for men only. Women had no right to divorce or any other kind of escape from their male owners.

It is incorrect to use the terms monogamy and polygamy to describe the sexual practices of animals, birds, or insects. Even though some pairs of birds or a few other species may remain together longer than others, with the great majority of species there is only the act of sexual congress and no cohabitation at all between sexes. The segregation of the sexes is far more pronounced than their fleeting unions.

Females in nature, like males, are promiscuous. This includes the higher apes. Wilson himself observes that "chimpanzee females are essentially promiscuous. They often copulate with more than one male in rapid succession, yet without provoking interference from nearby males" (p. 546). Under rigid patriarchal marriage rules, so vigorous a female would be subjected to harsh punishments.

Wilson's introduction of patriarchal and private-property relations into the animal world casts a dubious shadow over other of his interpretations of insect and animal behavior. How can one trust a zoologist who speaks of "inheritance" systems and "territorial" rights in the sense of the private ownership of real estate? For example, he writes about the black bears of Minnesota that the females "permit their female offspring to share subdivisions of the territories and bequeath their rights to these offspring when they move away or die." Male black bears "take no part in this inheritance" (p. 502).

To be sure, all animals occupy the natural habitat or "territory" to which

they are adapted and in which they find their food and mates. But there is no subdivision of real-estate properties in their world and no inheritance of property, whether from mothers to daughters or from fathers to sons.

Another example of Wilson's crude biologism and anthropomorphism is his patriarchal interpretation of the hamadryas baboons. He writes, "A female competing with a rival moves next to the overlord male, where she is in a better position to intimidate and resist attack. If she is threatened, the male is much more likely to drive her rival away than to punish her. As a result she is more likely to advance in social rank" (p. 517).

Female primates, including the hamadryas baboons, do not have "overlords" or sultans protecting them from

## **'A billion years of purely animal evolution was climaxed about a million years ago when the first toolmaking hominids appeared on earth and set forth on their own wholly new course of social evolution.'**

female "rivals" or advancing them to higher status and rank. According to Wilson, the hamadryas aggregates "contain from one to as many as ten adult females," which he calls "harems" (p. 534).

In seminatural or captive conditions a solitary female may welcome the protection afforded by a combative male who fends off other males. But so long as the females outnumber the males—as they do in the so-called harems—they have the power of numbers to protect themselves and keep the males in line. When females retreat from all males to give birth, no male follows them into their retreats.

The greatest dangers to females do not come from imaginary female "rivals" but from male assaults under captive conditions where the females have neither the power of numbers nor retreats by which to escape the males. This was demonstrated by the London Zoo experiment, when a small number of females was introduced into a large all-male colony to study their sexual habits. The results were disastrous for the females and offspring. (See my book *Woman's Evolution*, 1975, pp. 62-67.)

Wilson underplays the significance of this experiment. He writes, "When groups of hamadryas baboons were first introduced into a large enclosure in the London Zoo, social relationships were highly unstable and males fought viciously over possession of the females, sometimes to the death" (p. 22).

This is an understatement. Not only were some males killed by other males, but virtually all the females and offspring were exterminated. The "unstable relations" lasted five years, during which fresh batches of females were repeatedly brought in when previous batches were killed, with no better results. In the end the experiment was declared a failure.

Wilson skims over the highly instructive lesson to be derived from the London Zoo experiment because it does not sustain his thesis about the close mating and family "kin" ties that prevail in the animal world. By pressing his erroneous patriarchal views he can declare that men resemble animals and animals men in their universal supremacy over females. He writes, "What we can conclude with some degree of confidence is that primitive men lived in small territorial groups, within which males were dominant over females" (p. 567).

Invoking the Paris professor Lévi-Strauss, he writes that "a key early step in human social evolution was the use

of women in barter. As males acquired status through the control of females, they used them as objects of exchange to cement alliances and bolster kinship networks" (p. 553). What happened in the million years between the killer apes and the bartering humans Wilson does not say.

Wilson's "sociobiology" takes a step beyond the standard pattern of biologism. He has latched onto a subtler variation of the same theme—the determination of society and culture through the genes. He sees social evolution as a contest between altruism and selfishness—substitutes for what were earlier called competition and cooperation. Thus his book opens with a chapter called "The Morality of the Gene." He catches altruism in the genes and believes it is through genetic

selection—not social progress—that altruism will triumph in human relations.

In fact, altruism and selfishness are exclusively characteristics of human relations and the moral judgments made of human behavior in the course of history. Animal competition or "selfishness" was conquered in the primitive human world through the institution by the women of a matriarchal, communal society. Altruism came into existence as men learned to live and work together as brothers, interchanging the necessities and comforts of life.

With the downfall of the primitive commune and its replacement by patriarchal class society, that aboriginal altruism was subverted and a new kind of selfishness came into existence out of the greed bred by the lust for private property. But this subverted human nature will once again be changed when capitalism is replaced by socialism.

Wilson has a different view. He thinks it possible that the social classes in capitalist society are formed through genetic differentiation. He writes, "A key question of human biology is whether there exists a genetic predisposition to enter certain classes and to play certain roles. Circumstances can be easily conceived in which such genetic differentiation may occur" (p. 554). Does he mean that a capitalist is genetically preordained to play that role while a sanitation worker is genetically programmed for that work? And does he mean that the female sex is genetically programmed to be inferior?

Wilson creeps around the question. He is attracted to Dahlberg (1947), who "showed that if a single gene appears that is responsible for success and an upward shift in status, it can be rapidly concentrated in the uppermost socioeconomic classes." Short of gene manipulation, this can only be done through controlled mating; capitalists intermarrying with the rich, sanitation workers with the poor.

The sinister implications in this school of genetic determinists have already been denounced. From Hitler on to the present there have been advocates of controlled mating to keep out the non-Aryan and other "foreign" genes and maintain a pure and high-class stock for the master race and the master class.

Wilson shies away from such a conclusion. He writes, "Despite the plausibility of the general argument [of

Dahlberg], there is little evidence of any hereditary solidification of status." In his view there are many other "pathways of upward mobility." For example, "The daughters of lower classes tend to marry upward." Presumably the inequalities of capitalism will be gradually eliminated through this constant reproduction of high-class genes in the children of the poor daughters who marry rich husbands.

As Pollyanna Wilson writes, "Over a period of decades or at most centuries ghettos are replaced, races and subject people are liberated, the conquerors are conquered" (p. 555). According to Wilson's doctrine of the "genetic evolution of ethics" (p. 563, his emphasis), there is no need for a social revolution to get rid of an oppressive capitalist system. Presumably the problem will be taken care of when all the poor daughters have married all the rich husbands. Then everybody will have the same high-class genes.

Wilson's genetic interpretation of human evolution runs directly counter to those sociologists and others who say that human behavior is learned behavior, that it is not derived from the genes but from their own productive, social, and cultural activities. He criticizes Dobzhansky (1963), who stated that "culture is not inherited through genes, it is acquired by learning from other human beings. . . . In a sense, human genes have surrendered their primacy in human evolution to an entirely new, nonbiological or superorganic agent, culture." Wilson thinks "the very opposite could be true." He calls for a new "discipline of anthropological genetics" to prove it (p. 550).

Wilson thus diverges from two molecular biologists, Alan Wilson and Mary Claire King, who this year challenged the notion that genetic mutations are responsible for the elevation of humans above the animals. The *New York Times* of April 18 reported that "the scientists suggest that some other form of mutation must be operating to have produced the obviously vast differences between people and chimpanzees."

Indeed, that "mutation" was nothing other than the qualitative jump that occurred when the first humans acquired their new mode of survival and development through tool-making and labor activities. This is why society is an exclusively human phenomenon.

The two sciences of biology and anthropology are of the greatest importance in understanding the origin, evolution, and meaning of social life. But Wilson, instead of advancing these sciences, is turning them backward. In the name of promoting a new branch of science he has descended to the level of the Ardrey-Morris-Lorenz-Tiger-Fox obscurantists. He is lending himself to indoctrinating unwary and trustful readers with reactionary ideas and encouraging pseudoscientists to jump on his bandwagon.

As Alexander Cockburn, staff writer of the *Village Voice*, warned in his July 28 review: "Now we have 'sociobiology' and the probability of a new terrible wave of zoomorphist rubbish. Brace yourselves."

For further reading. . .

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**'This death sentence is not surprising. . . . There had to be a Rosenberg case. There had to be an intensification of the hysteria in America to make the Korean War acceptable to the American people.'**  
**—Julius Rosenberg**

# Open the Rosenberg Files!

*The following is a slightly edited transcript of a speech by Robert Meeropol given at a conference entitled "Conspiracy in America" held last May at the University of California at Los Angeles. The conference, organized by the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms, was attended by more than 1,000 people. It was devoted to exposing government violence and cover-ups.*

*Robert Meeropol is one of the two sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in 1953 for supposedly passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. He and his brother Michael, along with the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, are waging a campaign to obtain all the secret files held by the government on their parents' case. They contend that the full truth will prove the Rosenbergs innocent.*

*In response to a suit by the Meeropol brothers under the Freedom of Information Act, a federal court ordered the Justice Department August 22 to turn over most of the 48,000-page FBI file by November 15. On August 1, federal judge June Green had issued an injunction to prevent any further destruction of the files by government agencies.*

*Robert Meeropol told the International Socialist Review that he is now working full-time on the campaign to reopen his parents' case, along with "splitting child-care and house duties with my wife Ellen, who is active in socialist-feminist work."*

*More information can be obtained from the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, 250 West 57th Street, Room 606, New York, N.Y. 10019. Telephone: (212) 265-0918.*

## By Robert Meeropol

**M**y father was arrested on July 17, 1950. That was about three and a half weeks after the start of the Korean War. It was the age of Joseph McCarthy. It was the age of "communists everywhere."

During my parents' trial, if you were to pick up a newspaper like the *New York Times*, you might have seen a big banner headline across the top of it: "Greenglass Says Sister Was Spy. Stole Secret of Atom Bomb." At the bottom of the page you would see a headline: "Investigation of Reds at Harvard." In

the middle of the page: "Yanks Kill 150 Reds in Korea." And on the left-hand side you would see a smaller headline: "William Pearl Arrested. Prosecutor Says He Will Testify Against Rosenbergs At Trial."

Now this is one page in one paper in one day. Maybe it is the most graphic example, but there were others like it. This was the atmosphere.

It was the time when Richard Nixon was rising to power. After the conviction of Alger Hiss, Nixon said the Hiss case would show that wherever you had a communist, you had an espionage agent. It was this kind of thinking that set the stage for my parents' trial. And it set the stage for some very important political conclusions about dissenters in this country that have permeated American thinking for more than twenty years.

Richard Nixon expressed this thinking in one of his first campaigns for Congress against Helen Gahagan Douglas. He said that Helen Gahagan Douglas was "pink from her stationery to her underwear." And it was the type of statement that gained him a lot of support.

It was a time when, up until the late 1940s, the baseball team the Cincinnati Redlegs was called the Cincinnati Reds. At an exhibition game in the late 1940s, they beat the New York Yankees, and the next day on the sports page there was a small headline that said, "Reds beat Yanks." That caused a stink, and as a result they changed their name to the Cincinnati Redlegs.

There's a prep school in Eastern Massachusetts and its colors are red and white. At football games in the 1940s they used to cheer, "Go big red." When 1950 came around, it was changed to "Go maroon."

But there were also serious things. A commander of an army base in the Philippines put the following message on the base bulletin board: "The Bill of Rights and the Constitution are not to be posted on this base. They are controversial."

It was another age.

If you look around today you can see William Calley, who goes around the country making lots of money giving speeches about the horrible things he did in Vietnam. You can also follow John Dean as he goes around the country giving speeches about the horrible things he did in Watergate.

Well, that age had its John Deans

and William Calleys too. In that age you had people like Elizabeth Bentley, known as the "Red Spy Queen." These were people who said, "We were Communists. We were part of that evil menace. But we saw the light, and now we are going to save America from the dangers of communism."

And these people, for a fee, traveled around the country speaking on the dangers of communism. It was that type of period.

It's hard, I think, for people my age and younger to understand quite what it was like.

If it wasn't for Watergate we might very well be heading into another such period today. I think we have only gained breathing space, and that it's this conference, and activities like it, that are using that breathing space to try to broaden it, strengthen it, and form a vast counteroffensive against the secret government so that we can prevent the next round of repression from happening—as it surely will if the people who hold power in this government stay in power.

**I** want to talk a little about the specifics of my parents' case because I think it's important, even though it may get away from the more general themes here tonight.

We can start with a man by the name of Harry Gold, who lived in Philadelphia as a chemist. He virtually walked into an FBI office in 1950 and said, "I am a spy and a courier. I have been carrying atomic information from Los Alamos to the Soviet Embassy in New York."

At his trial after the prosecution was completed—the prosecution consisted of his confession—the judge turned to the defense attorney and asked him to proceed with the defense. The defense attorney said, "I would be perfectly willing . . . to accept any statement of the crime that he [the prosecutor] might make. . . ."

In other words, the only testimony presented at Harry Gold's trial was Harry Gold's confession.

Shortly after Harry Gold's arrest, a man by the name of David Greenglass, who happens to be my uncle, was arrested and charged with being the man who gave Harry Gold the information.

Soon after that my father was arrest-

ed and charged with being the person who recruited David Greenglass. My mother was arrested too. The charge was conspiracy to commit espionage.

As you know, in conspiracy trials the testimony of alleged coconspirators is admissible evidence. As a result, my parents' trial basically came down to three witnesses—Harry Gold, David Greenglass, and Ruth Greenglass—testifying that my parents were the head of a spy ring that stole the secret of the atomic bomb, versus my parents and Morton Sobell saying that they were not involved at all.

It came down to a matter of credibility. And I have just described the atmosphere that existed in that day. That atmosphere determined who would be credible and who wouldn't be credible.

David Greenglass testified that between November of 1944 and January of 1945, my father recruited him into a spy agency, or spy ring, while he was working at Los Alamos. He claimed that my father told him to go back to Los Alamos to mosey around to see what he could find, draw sketches, and that a man would come in June or July and pick up these sketches.

The man was to identify himself by two means. One, he'd have a half of a Jello box top. Greenglass said my father gave one half to him and the other half to the courier, and if the Jello box top matched then he would know it was the right person.

He also said there was a code word. The person who came, the courier, would say, "Julius sent me."

The Greenglasses further testified that later on, after he left his job in Albuquerque, he gave more sketches to my father in September of 1945. This was crucial because it brought the act up to after the end of World War II.

Harry Gold testified that indeed he was the courier, indeed he used the password, indeed he got the information, and indeed he gave David Greenglass some money in exchange for it. And Ruth Greenglass testified as well, backing up what her husband said. The Greenglasses testified that after Harry Gold was arrested my father urged them to flee the country, and that they had passport photographs taken so they could be ready to leave. These passport photographs were introduced as evidence at the trial.

I'm going over the evidence because I think it's important to see the tech-

niques that were used, and to trace them to today. The evidence consisted of sketches of the supposed atomic bomb.

However, it was not claimed that these sketches were drawn back in 1945. David Greenglass said he drew them in his cell a month before the trial.

The Jello box top was another piece of evidence. But the Jello box top was cut in the courtroom. You see, when David Greenglass started talking about the Jello box top, the prosecutor handed him a whole Jello box top and asked him to cut it to demonstrate for the jury how this was done. David Greenglass did that, and that Jello box top was presented to the jury as a piece of evidence. And a copy of that Jello box top is on display in the FBI building in Washington in a nice big case.

There were other exhibits. I mentioned the passport photographs. Well, about ten years after the trial was over, Walter and Miriam Schneir did a lot of research on this case and wrote a book called *Invitation to an Inquest*. They took copies of these photographs and showed them to the owner of the photographic studio where they were made.

They asked the owner what he thought of the passport photographs, and he said they weren't passport photographs. He said they were the wrong shape, the wrong size, and the wrong pose. He said there could be no mistake, that they had a special procedure.

In other words, the government attorneys, who knew what passport photographs were, introduced family snapshots as evidence and palmed them off as passport photographs.

And it worked. It was the kind of Howard-Huntian dirty trick we are now familiar with. But in the 1950s the trick could be even sloppier and more transparent. The people had virtually total faith in the FBI during that period.

Other techniques were used. One of the things Harry Gold used to prove that he did indeed collect the information from David Greenglass was a hotel registration card from Albuquerque, where he met David Greenglass.

However, no hotel registration card was introduced at the trial. Instead a photostat of the hotel card was introduced as evidence. And when this photostat was examined years later, there were a number of things wrong with it. There were discrepancies in dating. And when the initials of the clerk on the hotel card, "A.K.," were examined against a sample of her handwriting, a documents expert said that the handwriting on the registration card was a forgery.

It was then discovered—it was hard to tell because it was a photostat—that there seemed to be a different set of printing plates used in the printing of this card than in the printing of all the other hotel cards.

It was then learned that FBI agents spent more than twelve hours alone in the file room of the hotel. It was also learned that this hotel was the only one in town that kept records. And strangely enough, Harry Gold testified that he never slept at the hotel, just registered there and, two hours later, left.

What we're seeing is the FBI forging evidence, and a palming off of one type of evidence as another sort of evidence. The trial was chock-full of this type of activity. In some ways it was a proving ground, along with other trials, for what was to come later. However, the atmosphere was so good then for the government that they could get away with it, scot-free.

As a result there were no defense committees for my parents. At the time of the trial there was not one newspaper across the country that said this was a frame-up. No defense organization started until seven months after the trial. People were not as aware of the

need for these defense committees then as they are today.

Now, why this trial? What was so important about accusing two rather inconsequential people of stealing the greatest secrets known to mankind (that's the way the prosecutor put it)?

After the sentence was handed down in 1951, my father talked to his lawyer, Emanuel Bloch, who recorded an oral statement. Here is what my father said:

"This death sentence is not surprising. It had to be. There had to be a Rosenberg case. There had to be an intensification of the hysteria in Ameri-

question for the government was: How are we going to get the American public to support this vast outlay of money and this spread of U.S. forces all over the world?

They created a double image that looked sort of like this: our boys are fighting in Korea. They're fighting against the communist menace. The communist menace is an international conspiracy. Agents of that international conspiracy are the people in this country who are attacking American policy overseas, including the Korean War.



Rosenberg supporters fill New York City's West Seventeenth Street on eve of the execution, June 19, 1953.

ca to make the Korean War acceptable to the American people. There had to be hysteria and fear sent through America in order to get increased war budgets. And there had to be a dagger thrust in the heart of the left, to tell them that you are no longer going to give five-year sentences for Smith Act prosecutions, or one year for contempt of Congress, but we're going to kill you."

That was my father's analysis. And he really hit the nail on the head. In fact, in a kind of almost psychic effort, he was restating in his own language, word for word, part of a still partially classified document called NSC Number 68 (National Security Council Memorandum Number 68), which was written in early 1950.

Early in 1950, Mao Tse-tung's forces had just made a revolution in China. It became apparent to the United States government that this country could no longer be only indirectly involved in trying to battle revolutionary forces around the world; we had to become more immediately involved. And this document was drawn up to plot how this could be done. Here is a short quote from it:

"The United States should take the lead in a rapid and substantial buildup. This means virtual abandonment by the United States of trying to distinguish between national and global security. It also means the end of subordinating security needs to the traditional budgetary restrictions. In other words, security must henceforth become the dominant element in the national budget."

In other words, Korea became California. And we had to pay for it. The

In other words, my father and mother were equated in the eyes of many Americans with the communist Chinese soldiers in Korea. It was all part of the same process. So we had to defend ourselves. We had to take special measures.

Judge [Irving] Kaufman brought it all back home in his sentencing speech at the trial when he said: "I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb, has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000. . . ."

The judge brought it all back home, and the circle was complete. The equation was drawn: domestic dissenters were just one more arm of the international communist conspiracy that our boys were fighting against in Korea.

If we look at it in summary we could say that the Justice Department and secret agencies—the secret government, as we call them—manufactured the phony evidence that sent my parents to their deaths. In the process they created a vision of a vast conspiracy. This conspiracy turned domestic dissenters into foreign substances that were invading our society from without.

And it worked. The American public bought it. And this same scenario was used by the government over and over again in the 1950s and into the 1960s.

And it's only now that recent tears in the cloak of secrecy have begun to show us what's really going on in America. And we here now, in a conference like

this and across the country, have the opportunity to expose the true nature and uses of the American secret police.

My brother and I are involved in a campaign to release the files on my parents' case. There are 75,000 pages of files on my parents and related people, held by eighteen arms of government, including the FBI, the Department of Justice, the National Security Agency, the CIA, Department of State, Department of Defense, Department of the Army, prosecutors' offices in various places, Department of Immigration and Naturalization, the Atomic Energy Commission, and it goes on.

The government claimed, prior to my parents' execution, that 70 percent of this evidence was never used in their trial because it would violate national security.

Now when we ask for the files under the new Freedom of Information Act, they tell us: We will give you the files on your parents, but we can not give you any files on David Greenglass, or on Harry Gold, or about any of the other prosecution witnesses. And it is their pretrial testimony, incidentally, that my brother and I are most interested in.

Do you know why they can't give this to us? They say it is because it might invade the privacy of Harry Gold, who has been dead since 1972, and David Greenglass and Ruth Greenglass. All of a sudden the FBI has become a civil libertarian organization.

In response to this, we say to the government: What are you afraid of? We're not afraid of what's in those files. We're not afraid to see. You claim it would prove beyond a doubt that our parents were guilty, and we say that there is one of two things in the files: either an immense amount of garbage, or the orchestration of a frame-up.

And there are some indications of this orchestration. Harry Gold said the code word was "Julius sent me." However, researchers have a tape that Harry Gold made with his lawyer eight months before the trial, and in this tape Harry Gold said he couldn't remember the code word; that it was "Bob sent me" or "Benny sent me" or "Frank sent me."

Recently an FBI agent was interviewed and he said yes, it's true, I interrogated Gold and he couldn't remember the code word. But after Julius Rosenberg was arrested I suggested to him, couldn't the code word have been "Julius sent me"?

And we know what happens when an FBI agent suggests a code word to a man like Harry Gold.

Well, we would like to see the record of this pretrial testimony.

**N**ow, the government got a blank check from the American public. And that blank check basically said: Because our security is threatened, you should go ahead and conduct conspiracy trials, and if it's necessary, to set up NATO and SEATO and CENTO, and if it's necessary, to send troops around the world, and if it's necessary, to establish and expand secret police forces.

And they went ahead and did it. As a result, the civil rights movement was harassed in the 1960s, and the antiwar movement was harassed in the '70s, and when we demonstrated against the war in the mid-60s we were told, "Go back to Russia, you're aiding the enemy. You're doing just what Hanoi wants."

The result was that it was difficult in the beginning to protest that war, and the war has finally just ended. It took much, much too long for that war to end.

Then what do we get? We finally get Egil Krogh on trial for creating the "plumbers." And when the judge asked him why a fine, upstanding young man like him would participate in a burglary, Egil Krogh replied that he was not a burglar; he was told by his



superiors that national security was involved. And I believe them. I don't think they thought of themselves as burglars. They thought of themselves as patriots, who were saving America from communism.

Then we get Gerald Ford. Gerald Ford tells us that we have to put the trauma of Watergate behind us. We have to get back to normal business.

But I look at my parents' trial, and I look at what happened during the Vietnam War, and I look at what went on at Attica, and still goes on at Attica, and at Wounded Knee, and I look at the Kennedy assassination, and I look at

various other things throughout the '50s and the '60s, and into the '70s, and I know what normal business means. Normal business means more Watergates.

Many people have been deceived by Gerald Ford. You know, they say he may not be very bright but at least he's just plain folks. But I don't think we should be deceived. President Ford is very highly educated in cover-ups. If we want to look at it from an educational standpoint we can say that Gerald Ford did his undergraduate work in cover-ups when he was a member of the Warren Commission. He got his mas-

ter's when he pardoned Richard Nixon. And he's working on his doctorate now, by appointing Rockefeller to investigate the CIA.

People come up to me sometimes and ask: Where can I give a check to the Rosenberg defense committee? It makes me a little annoyed. I explain that we are not a defense committee. We are not defending something; we are attacking something. We are on the offensive. We're not on the defensive.

My parents stood for peace in a time of cold war, and they were killed for it. They stood for truth at a time when people lied, and they were killed for it.

Today, after Watergate and after the end of the war, we have an atmosphere where you can get away with a little more—at least some people can—than people could in the '50s. We cannot wait for the next war, for the next round of repression, to try to protect ourselves. The time to act is now, to strike back at those organizations, to take that cloak of secrecy and rip it off, so that all of those organizations will be exposed to the full daylight of the truth and we'll just watch them shrivel up and die.

# Lessons from a Strike

**A veteran trade unionist recalls struggles of two generations of women garment workers. Her account of a 1947 ILGWU organizing drive will be of special interest to women unionists today.**

*The following is a speech given earlier this year at a New York Militant Forum on women in the trade unions. It is especially pertinent since 1975 is the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). In this year of celebrations sponsored by the bureaucratic leadership of the union, Ethel Lobman sets some of the record straight about how the union was built.*

**By Ethel Lobman**

**M**y mother came to the United States from a small Polish town in 1912. She was seventeen years old. With thousands of others she worked in the sweatshops of the New York garment industry. They worked under the most miserable conditions for ten or twelve hours a day. The shops were unventilat-

*Ethel Lobman was a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union from 1946 to 1950. She has also been a member of Hotel and Restaurant Employees union Local 6 and of the United Automobile Workers. More recently she has been active in the struggle of the predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in New York City's school District One for control of their schools. She was a member of the executive committee of the parent association of Public School 63 from 1967 to 1972 and chairwoman of the Coalition for Education in School District One in 1972-73. She is a member of the Lower East Side branch of the New York Socialist Workers party.*

ed. They were filthy, with very little light. Many workers got tuberculosis. Some went back to Europe.

These women and men fought first for the ten-hour day, then for the eight-hour day. And they fought to organize their union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. These fighters were mainly women, and women were the leaders of those struggles on the streets of New York.

My mother used to tell me when I was little about various incidents in her life in those organizing days. She was very active in organizing the union. Practically all of these leaders were radicals or socialists.

One of the stories I remember was about how my mother worked in a shop where they had been trying to organize a union for many months. They were succeeding, and they had almost all the workers with them.

Then they got word that the boss was going to "run away" with his shop to Yonkers, just north of New York City, which was considered far away then. The young workers found out what day he was going to move the shop. In the middle of the night they traveled for hours by horse-drawn trolley car, changing many times. They arrived before the sun came up at the new shop. The boss planned to open that day.

My mother always described with such pleasure the look on that man's face when he came that morning to open up his new runaway shop, and found his organized workers waiting for him.

Thirty years later I worked in those same shops. It became clear to me that the sisters of my mother's day had been sold out. After all those struggles, all that blood, and all that ingenuity, there

were very few changes in the shops. They were filthy, particularly the toilets. They were firetraps. And there were runaway shops.

I happened to work in such a runaway shop in the 1940s. It was in Mount Vernon, which is near Yonkers. Surprisingly, that shop in Mt. Vernon was a union shop, affiliated to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. But because it was in Mount Vernon, as opposed to New York City, we all got less pay. It was what is called a contract shop. The union had negotiated a contract for less pay in Mount Vernon than down in the city.

I also want to point out that in those thirty years, the union had not succeeded in winning a minimum wage for its workers here in New York. We were all paid by piecework. And for every new style that we worked on, we had to fight with the boss over how much money we would get for sewing the garments.

In the 1940s the union leadership was completely male-dominated. The workers, on the other hand, were almost all women. This leadership played the role of mediator—not as the representative of the women in the shop, but as a mediator between the boss and the workers.

In this Mount Vernon shop, I still remember, we were sewing dresses that had one zipper. You had to change the sewing foot of the machine to a zipper foot. And for all the work of sewing up the whole garment, we got fifty-five cents.

When we finished that lot, a new-style garment came in, and it had two zippers, a side zipper and a back zipper. The boss said fifty-five cents. The women said, for two zippers we have to

change the zipper foot twice and that's time. He said, sorry, I can't afford to give you any more. Everybody downed tools and refused to work.

So he said, let's call in the union. And everybody's face fell. This type of situation was new for me at that time.

So the boss called up the union. In a short time in walks a man. He walks directly over to the boss, not to us workers. And he says, "What's the trouble?"

After he hears the boss's story he turns to us. "Well, girls, you want to have work, don't you?" And he goes into the whole bit about compromise and "what's another zipper, anyway."

Well, I think they gave us fifty-six cents, or something like that to start working again.

That was the role of the union. The whole leadership in New York—all men and all completely separated from the class struggle—acted in that way.

I moved to California in 1945. There the situation was a little different. It was not like New York in being a center where the European immigrants came directly into the slums and sweatshops. The union movement in California was newer and it was younger.

Another difference was the size of the shops. Here in New York the shops were usually twenty, thirty, or sometimes as few as five workers. In a large factory there might be fifty workers. But in California the big new sportswear industry had really taken root. This included the bathing-suit shops—Jantzen, Rosemarie, and the one I worked in, Caltex. These all manufactured expensive bathing suits and sportswear. The factories were very modern.

But these large, modern factories



were by and large unorganized. And it was only in the shops that the union had organized that a minimum wage had been established.

One of the problems was paternalism. Although the pay was miserable, these large, new plants had nice working conditions. They had curtains on the windows, and a coffeepot. And it was Los Angeles, with its Hollywood, and the whole place had a more colorful atmosphere than you find down on the Lower East Side or on Seventh Avenue here in New York.

While I was working in one of the large unorganized shops, the ILGWU was forced to lead a strike in order to organize the unorganized shops. The manufacturers of the organized shops refused to sign a new contract unless more shops came into the union, because they were being undersold by these shops. So actually the drive to organize came from the manufacturers.

The main headquarters of the union was in New York. The union bureaucrats' method of organizing at that time was to bring in a lot of goons, to go into a shop, pull the lever shutting off the power, threaten the boss, and say, "OK girls, everybody down to the union hall. You're in the ILGWU."

That was what the union bureaucrats were planning to do. They were going to make a token gesture and intimidate a couple of the smaller shops. They weren't going to touch the large shops with 200, 300, or 400 workers.

**I**t happened that in Los Angeles at that time there were a good number of militants in the union. Some were members of the Socialist Workers party who had been in the struggle for years. They decided to go ahead and take the opportunity to try to really organize the workers in these shops.

In the factory where I worked, Caltex, there were 300 workers. Two of us were in the SWP at that time. We got in touch with the union and this immediately scared them. We told them we wanted Caltex in the union and we were willing to work to organize the workers in the shop and see if we could succeed.

Militants from shops that had already been organized also went to the union and offered to help in the drive to get Caltex into the union. It would be a big breakthrough because of the large number of workers in that shop.

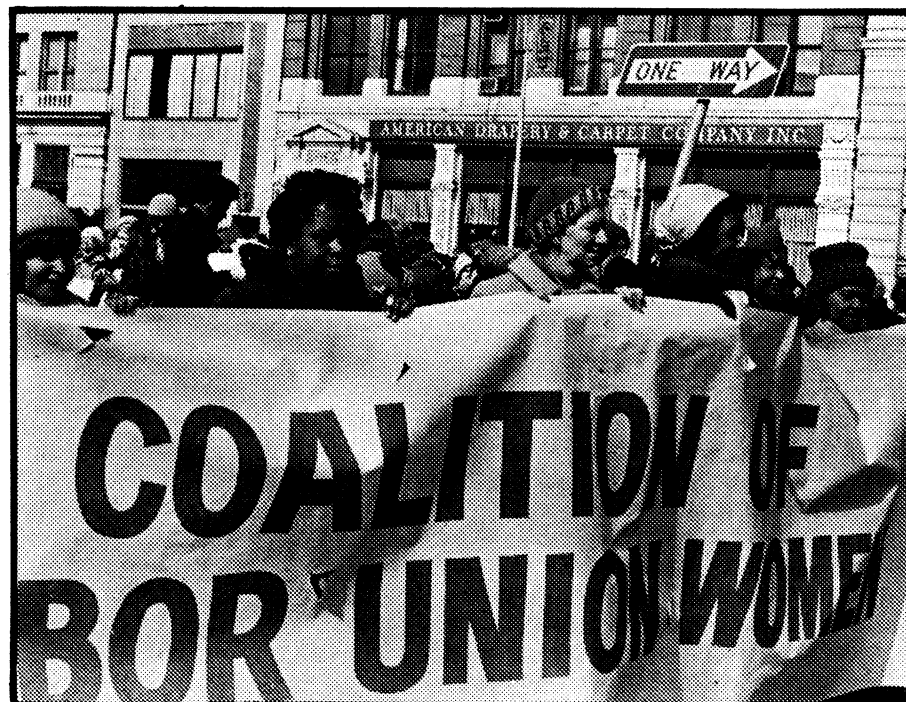
The workers at Caltex were mainly white Southerners who had come to California during the Great Depression, like those portrayed in the novel *The Grapes of Wrath*. They had made that long trek in the 1930s and were now working in the Los Angeles garment factories. This was a different type of worker than the immigrant worker here in New York.

I'd like to describe what took place at Caltex the first day of that organizing drive. Early that morning in front of the entrance there were about ten of us from the shop who were anxious to organize the shop. About fifty workers from other shops were there to support us.

Up until that time we had never even known who owned Caltex. We had a manager and a few foremen and office personnel. But we didn't know who the owner was. It wasn't like in New York, where the owner could be someone's little old uncle. This was a large-scale industry.

That morning, as we formed a big picket line in front of the door, we noticed a very gray-looking man standing a little to the side of the entrance. He had a gray hat, gray hair, gray suit, gray shoes, a gray face, and he was very thin.

He came over to the picket line and said, "I represent the owners." It seemed that he represented the Chase Bank. Rockefeller/Chase owned the factory!



Women unionists on the move, in the early 1900s and today.

Fran Collet

As the women arrived for work, he tried to push the picket line away from the door while saying, "Get out of the way, they're coming in to work."

We had leaflets, which we were trying to get into the workers' hands. Suddenly, this tall, majestic-looking woman from one of the organized shops leaned forward from our line and cracked the man across the face. It absolutely stunned him.

Everything stopped for a second. Then, having given out the leaflets, we started talking to the workers. Everything looked great. The workers weren't going in. They were listening to us. You could just feel that this was the moment

decided that in addition to picketing all day we would visit the workers in their homes and see if we couldn't recruit them to the union. Over a period of six weeks we visited about 200 of these women in their homes.

This was for me another lesson to be learned and never to be forgotten. It happened that in every single one of those homes—even of the most backward workers—we found that somewhere in their background there was a touch of either unionism or radicalism. Somewhere there had been an uncle who had helped organize the United Mine Workers, or a relative who had done something to oppose World War I.

**'We realized then that the union bureaucrats did not want these 300 workers who had been convinced of the necessity of belonging to the union.'**

of victory.

It was at this moment that we heard from Pinky, the union representative assigned to Caltex, who was a very nervous man. He said, "Oh, let them in, let them in. We'll get them tomorrow, we don't want any trouble."

His words shocked everyone. The first group of workers looked at him and then went in.

That taught me a lot. That moment remained with me forever. There are moments that are decisive, when you have to take advantage of the situation and act. That was such a moment. Somebody should have challenged Pinky.

But—they went in. Some stayed out but most went in. We were furious and frustrated, and we settled down to a long strike.

At a meeting of the Caltex strikers we

And as we went house-to-house and talked to these people, we got the response we had been hoping for.

Now, as we visited these workers we would ask them to sign cards stating that they agreed to join the ILGWU. We needed to sign up 50 percent of the workers in the shop in order to get an NLRB (National Labor Relations Board) election. Once a week we would take the cards down to the union headquarters, to the bureaucrats from out East, who would say, "Good work, girls."

Our militant picket line had become known in union circles. United Auto Workers union representatives came to observe them. These union leaders would say things like, "We heard you have a great picket line. Why don't you sing some more songs, girls."

We had support among the garment

cutters. A number of SWP men were longtime cutters in the ILGWU and they were helping us. The Caltex cutters (all men) worked in another building. They came over to the union's side.

We would bring the people who signed the cards down to the union hall for meetings in a car brigade.

And now comes my lesson number three. In the sixth week of the strike, according to our count, we had 65 percent of the workers signed up. So we went down to the union hall and told this to Riggy, one of the bureaucrats who never left his seat behind the desk.

"OK, girls, let's see, now where'd we put your cards," he said. And he started looking, and looking, and he never found them. It was a very sad moment.

We realized then that they did not want this shop in the union. They did not want a shop where the workers had been organized, step by step, and where they had actually been convinced of the necessity of belonging to a union. And where they had come to meetings and had participated in discussing the tactics of the strike. They did not want these 300 workers to disrupt their bureaucratic setup. They only wanted those shops where the workers had been marched down and told that they were in the union now and had to pay their dues.

We didn't succeed in organizing Caltex that year. The union got sixty shops in by their methods.

There is another lesson I learned, and that was about the role of the police. Every morning of the strike there would be a whole line of cops in front of the factory. The first morning they were friendly to us. I remember one of them was a young man who started talking to us and said he had been a UAW shop steward.

Then one day there came the order to the cops to push, because we were too close to the entrance. And that "union" cop pushed more ferociously than any of the other cops in that line. I realized then that it was probably a kind of overcompensation for his radical past.

From then on, whenever people tell me—and down on the Lower East Side they're always telling me—about the friendly cops in our neighborhood and how they're really for us, I tell them the story about that cop.

What's the situation now, thirty years later? There are still the sweatshops in New York. They're still filthy. And the workers are Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese women. The Chinese women's children are there with them in the shops on Sundays. Child labor, which existed in the sweatshops in the early part of this century, has come back.

The union bureaucracy has done almost nothing to wipe out these evil conditions. Sixty years ago those young women did not shed blood on these streets so that this union bureaucracy could live in luxury while turning their backs on the misery of the workers.

Today the ILGWU leadership is not even made up of the old types like David Dubinsky who at least went through some of the early struggles. Now they get their leaders from the colleges. They are BA and MA and PhD graduates who major in labor administration. They don't even make an attempt to find leaders among the ranks.

The bureaucrats and the workers don't even speak the same language. Many workers are cheated in these union shops. They don't get the minimum wage or time-and-a-half for overtime. And the union doesn't even try to organize any of the thousands of "cockroach" shops.

So sixty years later, the ILGWU still has a debt to pay to those immigrant women. The struggle is before us, and the new ferment among women trade unionists bodes well for this fight.



# BOOKS

## You Can Get There From Here

By Shirley MacLaine. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1975. 249 pp.

"I suppose what shook me the most about China was that it completely altered my notions about human nature. I used to believe human nature was absolute. . . . If someone stole, cheated, murdered, or was outrageously greedy, I would often dismiss the behavior as par for the course. I had plenty of evidence for the proposition that man was basically selfish, aggressive, fearful, savage, and greedy.

"But I couldn't feel that way anymore. I had seen an entire nation, once degraded, corrupt, demoralized, and exploited, that was changing its very nature. In changing the political, economic, and material nature, they had caused the better side of human nature to dominate. . . .

"I realized that if what we call human nature can be changed, then absolutely *anything* is possible. And from that moment, my life changed."

So writes Shirley MacLaine, well-known singer, dancer, and comedy star, in her book *You Can Get There From Here*. The book documents MacLaine's visit to China in the spring of 1973 as the leader of a women's delegation from the United States. The delegation included women from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. An all-female film crew recorded their experiences. This was later made into a film titled *China Memoirs*.

*You Can Get There From Here* does not only deal with Shirley MacLaine's visit to China. The first sections dwell on the author's earlier experiences in campaigning for George McGovern in the 1972 presidential election campaign. However, this review will be limited to the section on China, which has evoked the most interest and debate.

MacLaine recounts how through her stay in China she was forced to reexamine many of her previous values and conceptions. She, like many of us in the imperialist countries, had been brought up on horror stories about China—that it had been "lost" to the communists, that the Chinese people "had been reduced to ants," and that "the real China was a place called Formosa."

With her own eyes she was able to see

the great strides forward made by the Chinese people since the revolution. Before her opened up the whole range of potentialities for humanity in a society based on a planned economy.

She saw a China free of the hunger that had scourged its people in prerevolutionary days. Prices for food, housing, and medical care were low.

Many advances had been made by women, and efforts were being made to use their skills. They had been brought into the work force and into the political life of the country. The abuses and humiliation women faced under the old society were largely lifted. They no longer were forced to submit to the barbarous custom of foot-binding or to arranged marriages. They were no longer subjected throughout their lives to the patriarchal ideology of obedience to men. Through the revolution they had gained a new pride and dignity.

MacLaine and the delegation were struck by the care children received in nurseries and child-care centers, the lack of competition over toys, and the happy appearance of the children.

MacLaine reports the reaction of one of the women, Phyllis Kronhausen, a psychologist and anthropologist: "I'm amazed," she said, "I wouldn't have believed it was possible." She was searching for the words that would sum it up. "Of the children we've seen so far, I haven't seen *one* that I would call even slightly disturbed. It's incredible."

MacLaine's visit to the communes reinforced her appreciation of the strength of a society built on production for human need. She says:

"Here too I began to feel a sense of strength, a common bond among these people, joined together in a common task. They were not producing junk to sell for profit in some second-rate department store. They were feeding China. It was no small thing to them, and their sense of pride and purpose was infectious."

As the time passed MacLaine found herself deeply moved by the accomplishments of Chinese society. For a long time, she writes, she hadn't found much about the world to give her hope. But as she watched and learned and absorbed the lessons of China, she slowly found herself "able again to hope and trust in the human race."

MacLaine's book points out many of the positive aspects of life in China today. Nevertheless, she can't escape the negative aspects introduced by the Chinese Communist party regime. MacLaine says the following:

- There is no freedom to publish, no opposition political parties, no freedom to travel. A citizen must have permission to go more than fifty miles from his or her home city.

- There is no freedom to write books or create works of art. All art must make a social point. Foreign films and culture are not available to the Chinese people.

I am angry as a Chicana; but I am angrier as a woman. No one should be able to tell me when I can or cannot have children.

The doctors' lies that we are all on welfare, unmarried, causing overpopulation, and we all look alike used in order to sterilize us are really excuses for genocide against my race.

A woman has the right to sterilization if she chooses it and she will usually look for sterilization if she wants it. But I don't see them sterilizing rich, white men against their will with phony excuses.

I support attorney Antonia Hernández, the Chicana victims, and those doctors who are fighting forced sterilizations. Their fight is the fight of all women. María Elena Montalvo Santa Barbara, California

**Editors:** I was very glad to see the recent article "Forced Sterilization: Chicanas Fight Back in Los Angeles." It is encour-



Shirley MacLaine (right) with Chinese host

- Women are still widely discriminated against. They do not receive equal pay in the communes. They still do the cooking and care for the children, whether it be at home or at the child-care centers. Very few women are in the top hierarchy of the Chinese Communist party.

- Sexuality is rigidly controlled. Children are told that masturbation will make them "infected or ill." Sex education is not available in the schools. Ignorance is so widespread among the youth on this question that one nineteen-year-old guide told MacLaine she didn't know "how babies are made." No premarital sex is allowed. There are no places for young people to go for any privacy. Monogamy is the law of the land, and homosexuality is considered "depraved."

Unfortunately MacLaine makes no real attempt to examine the roots of these antidemocratic, oppressive, and sexist policies of the Chinese Communist party. Instead, in an often shocking manner, she rationalizes or covers up for such practices.

The repulsive cult of Mao raises hardly an unfavorable comment from MacLaine. She talks of him as a leader "who seemed genuinely loved" rather than as a ruthless dictator whose wisdom nobody is allowed to question. Love for Mao is not exactly an emotion based on free choice in China. How can it be when those who express opposition are deprived of any leadership positions and jailed or murdered?

Mao has conducted massive purges of his opponents. To date he has succeeded in eliminating virtually all of the leaders of the CCP who were part of the Long March, the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek, and the founding of the People's Republic.

How can MacLaine, in the light of these facts, make statements such as, "I never felt that the unity of China was being imposed from the top down, or through the use of terror"? How can she say that the purpose of self-criticism

sessions is to "keep the leadership honest. . . . on a community or national level"?

Why is it only *self-criticism* that is stressed? Why is there no right to criticize the policies of Mao and the CCP? Without this right, self-criticism sessions can be nothing other than a means to impose ideological conformity and to root out divergent points of view.

In her attempt to reconcile her democratic ideals and artistic values with her admiration for the Maoist regime, MacLaine is led into a web of intellectual contortions and self-contradiction. The following quotes from her book illustrate this:

"I began to speculate on the effect that self-criticism in China might be having on individual creative expression. Perhaps honest group communication reduced the need for individualistic artistic expression in the New Society. Since so many human creative forces are based on a desperate need to communicate one's feelings, perhaps the need is displaced in a society that practices intercommunicative therapy. In that case, perhaps I wasn't seeing a censored artistic community, but rather a community that simply had no need to express itself in art. . . . The purpose of art and literature was to serve the people and the revolution *now*. Later on—who knew? Would there even be art and literature later on? And would anybody miss it?"

And again:

"I wondered what 'truth' meant. I was beginning to question whether positive change might not be more important than 'truth.' Perhaps truth was nothing but education. And if the education was progressive and positive maybe it was worth the compromise of the 'reinterpretation' of 'the truth.' The Chinese seemed to feel that truth was nothing more than what they believed it to be anyway. Was the same thing true in the West?"

Given MacLaine's own commitment to art, such words are at the least

*Continued on next page*

# LETTERS

**Editors:** I have read the *Militant* a few times, but never with such interest as Harry Ring's article "Forced Sterilization: Chicanas Fight Back in Los Angeles" (August *ISR* magazine supplement).

I was shocked to learn about doctors sterilizing poor, nonwhite women by "Coercion, pressure, and deception."

Rich, white, upper-class doctors have no right to sit in judgment of poor, nonwhite, or uneducated women. Their diplomas don't give them the right to be gods.

Poor women have the same right to have babies as anyone else. For many poor people, children are our only luxuries; and we don't have the luxuries of the rich.

aging to see more doctors like Bernard Rosenfeld fighting against the rampant racism and sexism in the medical field.

When I was a medical student in 1970, I first witnessed this form of systematic sexism and racism against patients in Hutzel Hospital (Women's Hospital of Detroit). The patients were mostly Black women.

Doctors (white and wealthy) would have conferences where they revealed their rabid hatred, stating that the patients were all unmarried, on welfare, all looked alike, were causing overpopulation, and that sterilization of every possible patient should be practiced. They were unanimous in teaching these attitudes to the medical students. The few of us who rebelled against their authoritarianism were repressed severely.

Throughout the country, the organized women's liberation movement was the vanguard of opposition to forced sterilization. A generation of young rebel doctors sprang out of the ferment of the

antiwar and feminist movements. In fact, the Physicians National Housestaff Association, now leading strikes of young doctors, arose directly out of this ferment.

The women's liberation movement, in winning women to the original demands "Legalize abortions" and "End forced sterilizations," has set a higher stage for fighting back against continued atrocities by the medical system nationwide. Marc Stretten Los Angeles, California

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer initials instead.

surprising. Surely she must realize that art has been a means of expression for all human communities and that artistic works are among the precious acquisitions of civilization. Why then should a socialist society—which represents a *higher* stage of human evolution—abolish art?

Such speculation on MacLaine's part, whatever its intention, in the last analysis serves as a cover-up for the stifling of artistic creativity by the Maoist regime.

It is obvious that the artistic community in China is censored. MacLaine merely plays with words when she tries to imply otherwise. The only art allowed in China is of the most servile and revolting character. Experimentation in art forms, truthfulness to one's own artistic vision—is outlawed by the Chinese Communist party. Works unpalatable to the Maoists are labeled "bourgeois" and banned.

The anti-Confucian campaign against "bourgeois" culture is only the most recent example of the CCP's contempt for art. Michelangelo de Antonioni, the Italian film-maker, has come under heavy attack as a "spy" and "anti-China buffoon." An article in the Peking *People's Daily* termed Beethoven's music "weird and bizarre," saying it reflected the "nasty, rotten life and decadent sentiments of the bourgeoisie" (Hsinhua, February 14, 1974). Needless to say, policies such as these cannot foster an atmosphere conducive to genuine artistic expression.

MacLaine's philosophizings on the meaning of "truth" are bound to compromise her integrity in readers' eyes and undermine the credibility of the rest of what she has to say about China. Lies and deception (which she calls "reinterpretation") are methods used by reactionary governments against the majority of people. They are not the methods used by a revolutionary government that is out to build a socialist society.

Effective policies under a planned economy in a workers state have to be based on the real situation. Therefore, a democratic government controlled by the working people can only be effective if the facts—favorable and unfavorable—are made known to the masses. How else are they able to judge the best way forward? How else can they have real power in decision making?

Those out to construct a socialist society need not fear the truth; it is their ally. There is much wisdom in the old saying "The truth will make you free."

MacLaine mutes her criticism of the repressive sexual norms and the discrimination against women. At one point she even idealizes the puritanism that pervades present-day China. She writes, "Relationships seemed free of jealousy and infidelity because monogamy was the law of the land and hardly anyone strayed."

MacLaine seems to believe that the CCP is doing the most it can within the context of the country's backwardness and long traditions of women's oppression.

But this is not the case. The Chinese Communist party has served as a block in the road to women's liberation. The backwardness of China does not excuse



MacLaine found that widespread discrimination against women still exists in China

a policy of paying women unequal wages in agriculture.

The suppression of sexuality, with the consequent distortion of the human personality, is not simply a remnant of China's past. Rather, the CCP consciously promotes and enforces sexual repression. The low percentage of women in the CCP—10 percent after two-and-a-half decades of Maoist rule—is nothing less than scandalous. Surely these are not the policies of a government sincerely committed to women's emancipation!

At times, MacLaine lets her poetic fancy take flight. Seeing some intellectuals assigned to the countryside working in a field, she raptures:

"Their body movements spoke of

the revolution, at the same time it is necessary to tell the truth about the false policies of the regime.

Despite the myths, the Chinese Communist party is not a revolutionary party, nor is the CCP committed to furthering the interests of the working masses.

After taking power the CCP used its political position to consolidate a privileged bureaucratic caste. To maintain this privileged caste, the CCP had to suppress all democratic rights. Unlike Russia in the first years of its revolution, the Chinese workers state from its inception had no soviets or other democratic organizations of workers and peasants' control.

The full extent of the privileges of

**'The best way to extend the revolutionary gains of the Chinese people is to side with the workers, peasants, and students in struggle for socialist democracy.'**

common hope and common land and common freedom from hunger and starvation and insult."

How one can tell such emotions from body movements is dubious. But more importantly, these are not likely to be the feelings of the more than eight million youth and intellectuals forcibly deported to the countryside since 1968-69.

The fundamental flaw in MacLaine's book is her lack of understanding of the Chinese Communist party regime. She identifies the ruling bureaucracy with the progressive results of the revolution. This is a mistake made by many radicals who identify with the tremendous achievement represented by the Chinese revolution.

While recognizing the gains made by

this bureaucracy is carefully hidden. Meanwhile the CCP engages in flowery rhetoric about equality, democracy, and the building of a communist society.

An article in the March 4, 1975, *Toronto Globe and Mail* by Peking correspondent John Burns details the lifestyles of the Chinese bureaucrats. He writes: "The reality is that many of the men and women who staff the command posts in the bureaucracy, be they army generals or party functionaries or high-ranking bureaucrats in Government ministries, avail themselves of comforts that are beyond the reach of the common man. . . ."

"The most obvious of the disparities is the wage system for non-agricultural workers, which sets eight monthly grades ranging from 25 yuan (\$14) for

apprentices to 500 yuan (\$285) for the most senior officials. . . ."

"Of course, senior cadres have expenses that workers do not. Typically they will have an apartment of several rooms, perhaps even a house, for which they will pay as much as 50 yuan (\$28) a month, compared to the dollar or two paid by workers for their 2½ rooms."

Burns writes of the expensive clothing, elaborate meals, and other luxuries that these bureaucrats can afford. "A tailor-made worsted tunic at 150 yuan (\$185) against a worker's 25 yuan (\$14) denims, is part of every cadre's wardrobe, and leather shoes . . . instead of the everyday plastic or canvas knockarounds."

Many bureaucrats drive expensive European-model curtained limousines. After foreigners, Communist party cadres have first call to the few soft-seat compartments of trains, and have first-class seating on airplanes. They have access to exclusive recreational facilities and dine at sumptuous banquets.

This privileged caste is profoundly conservative, fearing anything that might not serve it directly. Hence its rigid control over artistic expression. Creativity demands freedom, which the bureaucracy cannot tolerate.

Similarly the CCP seeks to foster reactionary social institutions such as the family, through the prohibition of premarital sex and severe restrictions on divorce. The authoritarian nature of the family provides the bureaucracy with a more stable hierarchy of relations and a reliable mechanism for training people in submissiveness.

Shirley MacLaine should look more carefully into these features of the present regime in China. So impressed is she by the revolution's achievements that she loses her critical faculties. MacLaine reminds one of the intellectuals she herself refers to in the following lines from her book:

"... I remembered what had happened to the intellectuals who had visited the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s—Lincoln Steffens saying, 'I have seen the future and it works'—and the disillusion later when the word filtered through about the death camps and Stalin's murders and people who disappeared in the night."

MacLaine is wrong when she says that Maoist China is free of this type of oppression. Mao, while his methods at times may be different, is an admitted disciple of Stalin. Mao's ruthless suppression of dissidents, stifling of democratic freedoms, and counterrevolutionary foreign policies—these are in Stalin's tradition. The portraits of Stalin that can be seen everywhere in China are but one daily reminder of this.

MacLaine perhaps thinks she is doing the revolution a service by rationalizing or idealizing the policies of the CCP. But defense of the bureaucracy does not serve the revolution; it undermines it. The best way to extend the revolutionary gains of the Chinese people is to deal honestly with the facts of the present situation, and to side with the workers, peasants, and students in their struggle for socialist democracy.

**Katie Curtin**

# Women in China

## By Katie Curtin

A young Canadian feminist and socialist examines women's status since the Chinese revolution—the tremendous progress made and the barriers still to be overcome. 95 pages, \$1.45 paper.

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### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Argentina in the Twentieth Century.* Edited by David Rock. University of Pittsburgh Press, 230 pp. \$14.50.

*The Concept of Socialism.* Edited by Bhikhu Parekh. Holmes and Meier Publishers. \$16.00.

*La dialéctica actual de la revolución mundial.* Pathfinder Press, 189 pp. Paper \$2.25.

*Drugs and Minority Oppression* by John Helmer. The Seabury Press, 192 pp. \$9.95.

*Flesh and Blood: A History of the Cannibal Complex* by Reay Tanna-

hill. Stein and Day, 209 pp. \$8.95.

*Karl Marx* by Michael Evans. Indiana University Press, 215 pp. \$10.00.

*The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918* by Piotr S. Wandycz. University of Washington Press, 431 pp. \$14.95, paper \$7.95.

*The Latin American Revolution* by Donald Hodges. William Morrow and Company. \$9.95.

*Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* by Perry Anderson. Humanities Press. \$15.00.





prominent Clevelanders and an editorial in the *Plain Dealer* that called the ruling "a petty, flyspeck technicality," the board of elections was upheld.

Herman Kirsch  
Cleveland, Ohio

## 'Ding-Dong,' Avon calling

You'd think that a company whose entire business depends on women would be at least a little in touch with women's demands for equal treatment. But Avon Products, Inc., the world's largest cosmetics company, is oblivious.

Avon exploits women to the tune of \$1.3 billion worth of junk and hires 750,000 women to peddle Avon cosmetics door-to-door. And within the company itself, Avon's hiring and promotion policies are as sexist and racist as most of its advertising.

*Business Week* reports that among Avon's nearly fifty corporate officers, only two are women, and of the ninety-two people in the next management level, only seven are women.

But the women who work for Avon are getting together to protest. A ten-person steering committee has been formed to organize a fight for equal treatment. The first meeting the committee called attracted 300 people. In addition, several women, both Black and white, as well as some Black men, have filed discrimination charges against Avon.

The articles in the *Militant* about layoffs being used to roll back the gains of women and Blacks are borne out at Avon. When Avon cut about 10 percent of its employees and demoted others last year, it was the Black employees who were hit the hardest. A Black woman who was demoted two levels told *Business Week*, "It's the same old story of the last hired being the first fired."

E.J.  
New York, New York

## He's all heart

Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and one of the country's most influential economic policy makers, has a plan to create jobs. He proposes a big increase in public employment, "for example in hospitals, schools, public parks and the like—to anyone who is willing to work." Sound good?

The pay, Burns adds, would of course have to be less than the federal minimum wage of \$2.10 an hour. The cost "needn't be burdensome," according to Burns, since he also proposes a "sharp reduction in the scope of unemployment insurance and other government programs to alleviate income loss."

Burns calls for a "review" of the minimum-wage law and the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires that union-scale wages be paid on government construction. He also thinks bigger tax breaks for industry and "stretching out of the timetables" for environmental and job-safety goals would add zip to the economy.

G.A.  
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

# Time for a shorter workweek

One of the central demands of the union movement today ought to be the thirty-hour workweek with no reduction in weekly pay. This is necessary to put unemployed workers back on the job.

In basic industry today the worker produces more in four hours than was produced in eight hours thirty years ago at the end of World War II. This great saving in human labor ought to redound to the benefit of society in the form of more leisure time and individual creativity for the workers. Instead it has only served to boost corporate profits and create mass unemployment.

The auto contract expires in 1976 and sections of the United Auto Workers have begun drafting demands. The UAW National Ford Council, meeting in Washington, D.C., adopted a resolution for less time on the job, and for discouraging overtime work and making it optional. All such proposals are tentative and will be referred to the UAW's collective-bargaining convention next spring.

The formulation of this proposal from the Ford council hints that the UAW leadership is seeking a bargaining wedge that will be acceptable to management. In the farm-implement industry the UAW has reduced the work time slightly by negotiating a kind of bonus system that grants one-half hour off for each full week worked. This is acceptable to management because it tends to stabilize the work force, reducing lateness and absenteeism. It is one of those "mutually acceptable" arrangements that appear to be advantageous to both sides. It creates no new jobs, however, and is of no benefit to laid-off workers.

The traditional demand of the UAW is "thirty for forty"—thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay. This would create jobs and put thousands of unemployed workers back in the auto plants.

The same demand should be extended to include all industry by organizing a *national six-hour-day movement* to amend the federal forty-hour law.

The fight for the thirty-hour week goes beyond one union or one industry, and political action must be combined with contract bargaining in order to win it. In a speech more than a hundred years ago, long

before the eight-hour day was won, Karl Marx explained this.

"As to the *limitation of the working day*," he said, "... it has never been settled except by *legislative interference*. Without the working men's continuous pressure from without that interference would never have taken place. But at all events, the result was not to be attained by private settlement between the working men and the capitalists. This very necessity of *general political action* affords the proof that in its merely economic action capital is the stronger side." (*Value, Price and Profit*, International Publishers, 1935, pp. 58-59.)

Samuel Gompers at one time had the mistaken notion that he was a follower of Marx, but his latter-day craft union associates and successors in the old American Federation of Labor never entertained such illusions. Nevertheless, the 1929 economic crisis forced even these conservative officials to act in accordance with what Marx had said.

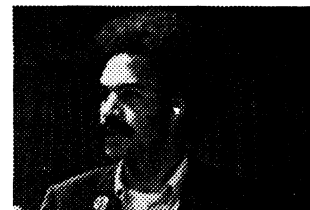
At the 1932 AFL convention in Cincinnati, the Committee on the Shorter Workday reported on "the overwhelming importance of an immediate reduction in the hours of labor as a condition absolutely essential to the restoration and maintenance of prosperity." The delegates voted for the five-day week and the six-hour day, with no reduction in weekly wages. What is more, they sought to make it a federal law, instructing the AFL Executive Council "to take all necessary steps toward having proper legislation ... presented to the incoming session of congress. ..."

Less than three weeks after the Cincinnati AFL convention, Sen. Hugo Black of Alabama introduced a thirty-hour bill in the closing days of the Seventy-Second Congress. This passed the Senate in 1933, but failed in the House, and has never been revived.

It is a pity that forty-two years later, at the UAW National Ford Council meeting, no one thought to send a delegation across the street to the capitol building to ask a "friend" in Congress to introduce a new thirty-hour bill.

# By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



# New mood in Boston

BOSTON—Larry McConaga turned his back to the chill morning wind, hunched his shoulders, and gave a tug on his beat-up old tennis hat.

"They'll probably be out on the corners, giving us the finger and all that stuff. They'll probably brick the buses. I heard about the fights and all that last year," he replied to a questioner, his eyes empty.

Then he knitted his brow, turned, and brought his eyes into focus to make a point. "But no, there's no need in being scared about it. You just have to face it."

McConaga, like other Black students in his shoes that morning, thought he'd be taking the bitter with the sweet: the first day of school, Phase Two and city-wide desegregation, with the sweet prospect of a better education that it offered; but that prospect bittered by the possibility of racist violence—rock and bottle throwing—against the buses carrying McConaga and other Black students during the short ride from Bayside Mall to South Boston High School.

For seventeen-year-old McConaga, it is his second year of high school. Last year he walked to Roxbury High in the safe turf of the Black Roxbury neighborhood. This year he has to ride to South Boston High in hostile white territory where lone and unsuspecting Blacks are beaten on sight. But because of the massive presence of police, so far his ride has been safe.

Safety has been the prime consideration of Blacks in connection with busing. And because the busing of Black students so far has been accomplished safely—the results of building a movement over the past year demanding that Black rights be enforced—the morale and confidence of the Black community have been bolstered.

Last year there was an inadequate number of police on hand to ensure the safety of buses going into the racist strongholds. As a result, buses were stoned and Black students were hurt.

This year, because of the safety precautions taken up to this point, there is hardly any discussion by Blacks of the merits of busing. Last year racist attacks on the buses kept Blacks intimidated and continually questioning the need to break down segregation by venturing into the white areas.

Last year Black students gathering in the mornings at Bayside Mall would mingle in quiet twos or threes, engage in small chatter, and draw nervous puffs from cigarettes.

This year the mornings at Bayside Mall have come alive. The students gather in throngs, and not-untypical boisterousness has returned. There is a loose feeling about them.

*Militant* correspondents outside South Boston High report that Black students salute gathered racists with clenched fists, a change from last year, and return taunts with gibes of their own.

Black leaders have also expressed satisfaction with the safety so far in connection with Phase Two.

Black parents, many of whom were skeptical and fearful last year of what would happen to their children being bused, express determination and confidence this year.

"I'm not too worried about them now," said Vy Turner, a Black mother, of her two sons one afternoon at Bayside Mall during the middle of the second week of Phase Two.

Turner is a member of one of the court-established, prodesegregation District Advisory Councils. She told of how one night racists had gathered outside the South Boston home of a white member of the council and threatened her.

"They want to beat on us. They even want to beat on other whites. And the poor Black students who just want to get a better education are caught in the middle," she said. "That's the part that's really sad."

# People's party sets '76 presidential slate

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—The People's party nominated a presidential slate for the 1976 elections at its national convention held here August 25-31.

Delegates selected Margaret Wright, fifty-two, a Black civil rights activist from Los Angeles, to be the party's presidential candidate. Nominated to run for vice-president was Maggie Kuhn, seventy, a leader of the Gray Panthers, an organization concerned with the oppression of old people. Seventy-five people attended the convention.

Benjamin Spock and Julius Hobson were the People's party candidates for president and vice-president in 1972. The party was on the ballot in ten states that year. According to party spokespeople, People's party affiliates have permanent ballot status in four states—California, Vermont, Hawaii, and Michigan.

Affiliated with the national People's party are groups such as the Michigan Human Rights party and a wing of the California Peace and Freedom party. According to a party publication, "People's Party related groups have elected some 10 radicals to city councils."

At last year's convention, which drew 160 people, the party agreed to define itself as socialist. Based on that decision, the convention this year devoted six days to consideration of a program.

While many useful reforms were discussed, there were no concrete proposals on how these changes would be brought about or on what the party will actually do in the coming months.

A motion to support and publicly advertise the National Student Coalition Against Racism conference, to be held in Boston October 10-12, was approved by a nearly unanimous vote.

A representative of the Congress of African People presented a motion condemning the use of "forced busing," counterposing the demand for "community control" of schools in the Black community.

CAP's proposal was rejected. Instead, the convention voted to "support Blacks' and other oppressed nationalities' democratic right to quality education wherever they choose and by whatever means necessary," including busing. The resolution also supported Black people's "right to self-defense of their communities" where they "oppose busing." No examples of such a situation were mentioned.

Previously, the party had held discussions on a common presidential slate with CAP, the New American Movement, the Socialist Party USA, and the National Interim Committee, founded by attorney Arthur Kinoy. The negotiations broke down, and a few delegates charged that CAP leader Amiri Baraka would compromise so-



Maggie Kuhn, People's party vice-presidential candidate.

cialist principles to win support.

Before the convention a "search committee" had contacted various prominent individuals about running on the People's party ticket. Among them were Anne Braden, Kate Millett, David McReynolds, and Jonathan Kozol. All declined.

Anne Braden had suggested they

contact Angela Davis. Some delegates responded to the mention of Davis's name with boos and hisses. After some discussion about whether or not to approach Davis, the suggestion was dropped.

The two candidates finally approved are considered provisional. Another convention later this year will evaluate the situation, and the candidates could be replaced.

The party invited the Committee for Democratic Election Laws to conduct a workshop on challenging restrictions on ballot rights for smaller parties.

Delegates voted unanimously to endorse the demand by the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson that all charges against Johnson be dropped. The young St. Louis Black man is the victim of a racist police frame-up.

The convention voted to hear Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate for 1976.

In enthusiastically received remarks, Camejo stressed the need to take a clear stand against the racist antibusing movement in Boston. The socialist candidate also reviewed some of his experiences during eight months of campaigning.

Camejo thanked the People's party for its support to the SWP's suit against illegal spying and harassment by government agencies.

## A 'socialist' ex-mayor runs for president

By Ed Heisler

The Socialist Party USA nominated Frank Zeidler, former mayor of Milwaukee, to be its candidate for president in the 1976 elections. The party's vice-presidential candidate is Quinn Brisben, a Chicago teacher.

The two were nominated on September 1 in Milwaukee at the party's national convention, which drew fifty delegates and observers.

Many were probably surprised to learn that this group exists when they saw the wire service announcements of the nominations printed in some daily papers. It might be useful to trace its origins.

The old Socialist party was largely bypassed by the radicalization of the 1960s and early 1970s. This was in large part because of its stand on the war. Placing equal blame on both the United States and the Vietnamese, the party abstained from the antiwar movement.

Under the pressure of the 1972 elections, the party fragmented. The wing that later became the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, led by



Frank Zeidler, social democratic presidential nominee, believes Blacks are to blame for runaway industries.

Michael Harrington, backed George McGovern.

The Albert Shanker-Bayard Rustin faction (now the Social Democrats USA) was hostile to the McGovern campaign, which they viewed as being too radical. Since they were aligned with the George Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy, they were inclined toward Meany's official policy of abstaining from the elections.

The Socialist party wound up giving formal but lukewarm endorsement to the Democratic nominee. Soon after the election the split occurred.

A section of party members who favored the policies of neither major grouping came together and adopted the name Socialist Party USA. They are mostly old-time social democrats who still like the idea of running Socialist party campaigns. The last time the old SP ran a candidate for president was 1956.

Being a native of Milwaukee, I was particularly interested to learn of Zeidler's nomination. He was mayor of Milwaukee from 1948 to 1960, and I

grew up under the regime of this "socialist" mayor.

Zeidler was not elected mayor as the candidate of the Socialist party. Although in the early part of this century the Milwaukee party was strong enough to elect mayors and even a member of Congress, by 1948 it was relatively weak. Zeidler was elected as a "coalition" candidate with Democratic party backing in a "nonpartisan" election.

Under Zeidler's administration Milwaukee remained one of the most segregated major cities in the country. The downtown divided the city into north and south. Blacks, who were confined to a run-down ghetto on the north side, were not allowed to live or go to school on the south side of town. It was not safe for them to walk the streets there after sundown.

In a city with a significant Black population, Blacks were excluded from any important government positions during his term in office.

In Zeidler's time the city had a police unit popularly known as the "red

*Continued on page 30*

## 'Is that something socialist you're reading?'

By Pat Galligan

Diane Rupp, a member of the Newark branch of the Socialist Workers party, relates the following story:

Recently, she and another Newark branch member, Steve Clark, traveled by train to Washington, D.C. During the trip, Rupp read the *Militant* and Clark the *Intercontinental Press*.

Their discussion of various articles across the aisle of the crowded train attracted one man's attention.

"Is that something socialist you're reading?" he inquired.

As the question was being answered, a supporter of *Workers Vanguard* (a newspaper reflecting the views of the Spartacist League) appeared and unsuccessfully tried to sell a copy of that publication.

This prompted the somewhat perplexed passenger to ask: "Are all the socialists on this train?"

"No," Rupp responded, "it's just that there are more of us these days."

"How do you define socialism?" a woman asked from two seats back.

A discussion about socialism ensued. Rupp and Clark talked for a while with passengers seated nearby about the socialist perspective on a number of issues, about the Socialist Workers party presidential campaign, and about the *Militant*.

"I never finished reading the paper," Rupp explained, "because I sold it to one of the passengers. Too bad I only had one copy of the *Militant* with me."

After a pause, she added: "You know, if I had prepaid subscription cards with me that day I'm sure I could have sold a few subscriptions."

This fall, an important contribution

to the geographical expansion as well as the numerical increase of our readership will be made by the Young Socialist teams.

Seventeen teams of young political activists will visit campuses across the country, building support for the SWP presidential ticket of Camejo and Reid among students, and recruiting to the Young Socialist Alliance. Each team has pledged to sell fifteen subscriptions and ninety single copies of the *Militant* per week.

We know that everyone is anxious to find out how many *Militants* were sold nationally during the first week of the campaign. We're still waiting for reports on these sales to arrive in the mail. Next week, we'll print a score-

board and relate some of the sales highlights.

Another 185 subscriptions were sent in this week, bringing our total through September 23 to 367.

Subscriptions from local areas are lagging behind. We should have 660 subscriptions to be on schedule to make our goal of 6,000 new readers by November 30.

Among the subscriptions we did receive this week were three prepaid cards from Robert Sipe, who attends Albion College in Michigan. We mentioned Sipe's order for the prepaid cards in this column just two weeks ago.

He certainly didn't waste any time. Those three people are reading the *Militant* this week. Don't you know someone who should start reading the *Militant* regularly next week?



## Thousands protest cutbacks

# New York students: 'No tuition, no way!'

By Joan Quinn

NEW YORK—Seven thousand students and faculty massed in front of Gov. Hugh Carey's offices here September 18 to protest the threatened imposition of tuition at the City University of New York.

State Commissioner of Education Ewald Nyquist has called on the city's board of higher education to charge tuition of up to \$800 a year at the traditionally tuition-free CUNY campuses.

The protest rally, sponsored by the University Student Senate of CUNY and the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the union of CUNY faculty, was the first city-wide response this fall to already-announced cuts of \$87 million in the CUNY budget.

Another \$64 million in cuts are threatened by the city in an effort to balance its budget.

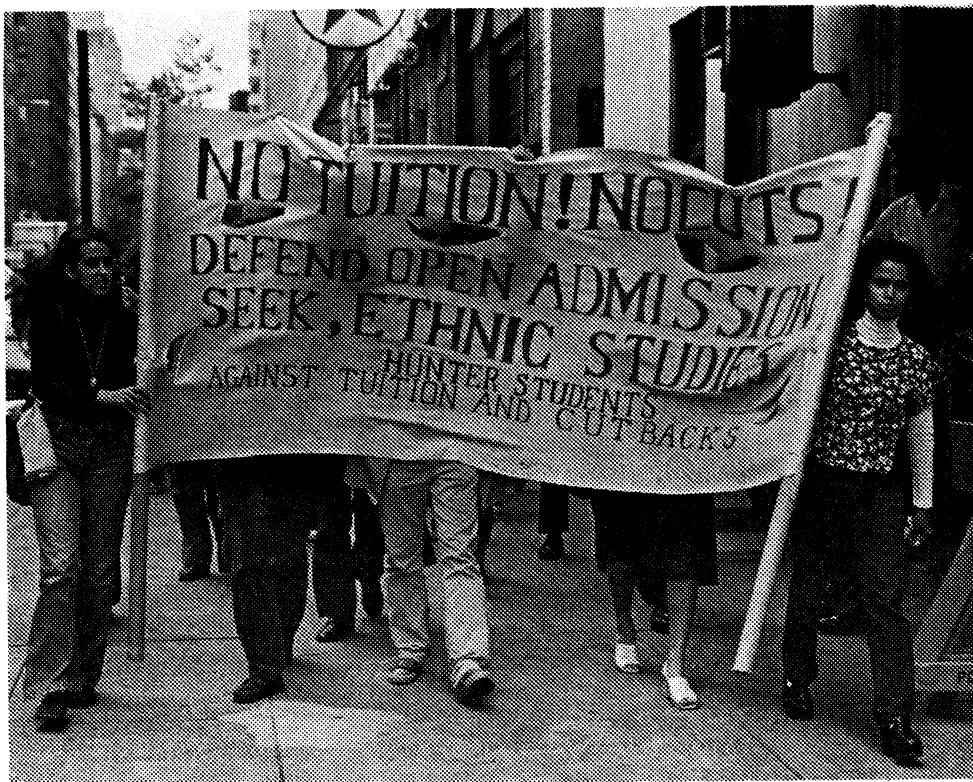
The September 18 rally was the culmination of two weeks of protests and demonstrations held on individual CUNY campuses since school opened and the cuts took form in larger class sizes, cancellation of courses, and drastically cut programs.

The cutbacks were especially hard-felt in Black and Puerto Rican studies. The entire Puerto Rican Studies Institute at Brooklyn College was eliminated.

The largest of these previous actions was held at Queens College on September 16, when 2,000 students and faculty rallied against the cuts.

Queens brought an impressive contingent of twenty busloads to the city-wide demonstration. Cheers rang out from the picket lines as each bus pulled up and demonstrators poured out.

The head of the Queens College linguistics department sought out a



Militant/Howard Lewis

CUNY students picket as board of higher education considers plan to impose tuition

*Militant* correspondent. "I've been looking all over for you. Look," he said, pointing toward a contingent of protesters with their own specially prepared signs, "I've mobilized my entire department."

Jay Hershenson, president of the University Student Senate, chaired the rally and led the demonstrators in chants of "No cuts, no way; open admissions is here to stay!"

Belle Zeller, president of the PSC, stressed the importance of student-faculty unity in the fight against the cuts. "You have the key to the situa-

tion in your numbers," she told the students. "The very life of CUNY is at stake. You have our full support."

The PSC, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, is considering strike action on the grounds that the board of higher education has violated its contract through staff cuts and increased class loads.

Sam Manuel, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism, which played a big role in building the demonstration, drew applause when he linked the antibusing violence in Boston and Louisville to

the attacks on education in New York.

"In Boston and Louisville," Manuel said, "the racist mobs are carrying out physical attacks on Black students, denying their right to attend the school of their choice."

"In New York, the attacks on CUNY have the same racist character. Black and Puerto Rican students are the first to be driven out of school by the budget cuts."

Manuel cited the cuts in SEEK as an example. The SEEK program provides remedial tutoring and financial aid to Black and Puerto Rican students at CUNY. The existence of the entire program is called into question by the cuts.

SEEK students on many campuses have not received their stipend checks or vouchers to cover their book expenses.

Other speakers at the demonstration included Clarissa Gilbert, president of the National Student Association, and the president of the State University of New York student government.

NEW YORK, Sept. 22—The board of higher education, meeting today with 100 student protesters while another 200 picketed outside, voted to table the proposal for tuition at CUNY.

The fact that the board backed off from imposing tuition immediately is a victory for CUNY students and faculty, but only a partial one. The proposal was tabled, not defeated, and may be recalled at any time. It will take continued strong protests, involving even greater numbers of students, faculty, and other supporters of free higher education, to stop the cutbacks and squelch the tuition plan.

## Gay rights fighter 'unfit,' rules air force brass

By Nancy Cole

A three-member panel of air force officers ruled September 19 that Sgt. Leonard Matlovich is unfit for military service because he is a homosexual.

Matlovich, who for twelve years has had an outstanding record in the air force, admitted his homosexuality in a letter to air force officials last March. His challenge to the air force regulation banning homosexuals led to a four-day hearing that resulted in the panel's recommendation for a general discharge.

The case has stirred up quite a controversy at Langley Air Force Base in Hampton, Virginia, where Matlovich was stationed. And for some it is seen as even more than a challenge to the air force ban on homosexuals.

"It could be the breaking point" of air force regulation 39-12, Sgt. Jerry Lawton told a *Washington Post* report-

er. This regulation has frequently been used, Lawton said, to suppress political views.

"They call it 'inability to adapt,' and it covers everything from not being allowed to talk about the Socialist Workers Party to saying you can't grow a beard," the *Post* quoted Lawton as saying.

Another sergeant, David Irwin, added, "This goes further than homosexuals. They [air force officials] think women can't do jobs too."

In addition to his assigned military defense counsel, Matlovich has two civilian attorneys, David Addlestone, from the American Civil Liberties Union, and Susan Newman.

During the hearing, extensive testimony was given from psychiatric experts and from Matlovich's military students and associates. They all



SGT. LEONARD MATLOVICH: 'We are going to win.'

contended that his homosexuality should not disqualify him from service.

In summing up the government's case against retaining Matlovich, Col. James Applegate emphasized that the sergeant had refused on the stand to renounce his homosexuality and had not agreed to "contract to be celibate."

"Sgt. Matlovich deserves his human dignity," Applegate said, "but the air force deserves its organizational dignity as the air force determines it to be."

"We are going to win," Matlovich told a group of forty airmen who applauded him as he left the hearing. "It was my personal loss. But it's going to be our victory."

If a review by air force higher-ups does not result in his reinstatement, Matlovich will take his case to the federal courts, charging that the regulation violates his constitutional rights to privacy and equal protection.

## Killer-cops claim another Black victim in L.A.

By Geoff Mirelowitz

LOS ANGELES—In the early morning hours of September 14, Los Angeles police terror claimed another victim. Larry Willis, a twenty-year-old Black, was gunned down by two cops as he stood on his back porch.

Willis had gone out on the porch because he heard the sounds of a scuffle in the back yard. He saw two policemen wrestling his brother Robert to the ground. The cops saw Willis on the porch, wheeled around, and pumped seven bullets into his body. They claimed they shot because they saw him pointing a rifle at them.

Carrie Willis, mother of both youths, flatly contradicted the cops' story. She

told reporters that when she heard gunshots she ran outside and saw the cops holding her son Robert on the ground. He was telling them he didn't have a gun. Then she turned and saw Larry dead on the porch. After the shooting, she said, the cops came into the house and found a gun in the closet.

Larry's brother Louis said, "They came inside and ransacked until they found the gun. That is when they got their story together."

Why were the cops there in the first place? They claim they tried to stop Robert to question him about a stabbing that had taken place in the area. When he didn't hear them calling him

and kept walking toward his house, they chased and grabbed him.

Robert was subsequently taken to the hospital to be treated for injuries he received at the hands of the cops. He was not booked on any charge.

The shooting of Larry Willis is one more episode in a wave of racist police crime directed at the Black community in this city.

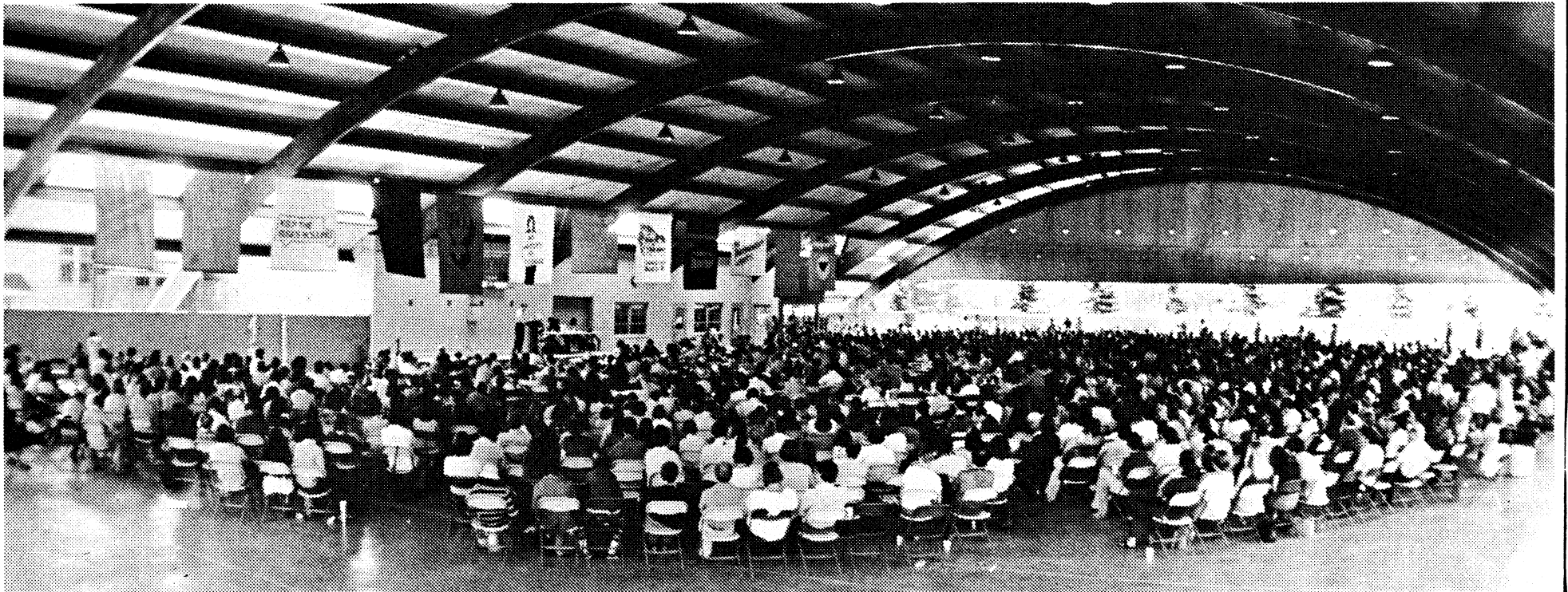
In the past eighteen months there have been seventy-five killings by police in Los Angeles County. As yet not one cop has been brought to trial, much less convicted.

Laura Moorhead, coordinator of the Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), told the *Militant*,

"The tragic shooting of Larry Willis must be answered by a response from the Black community. We must serve notice on the Los Angeles Police Department that we will not stand for more racist shootings or victimizations. We have to begin to organize to fight back."

Plans are under way for an October 6 rally demanding a halt to police crimes against Blacks. Initial sponsors of the rally include SCAR, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern California Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and the Philip Allen Defense Committee.

# SWP convention: the fight for Black liberation today



More than 1,600 attended recent SWP convention

Militant/Henry Snipper

## By Wendy Lyons

"We view the Boston Black community's fight for school desegregation as a test case of national importance. Boston is a harbinger of future struggles," Malik Miah told the recent national convention of the Socialist Workers party.

Miah is national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. He presented a report to the convention on the activities and perspectives of the YSA in its work in support of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

Miah's report, along with a report by Tony Thomas on the draft resolution "The Fight for Black Liberation, the Current Stage and Its Tasks," provided the framework for an extensive discussion

*This is the third of four articles on the recent Socialist Workers party convention.*

of the Black struggle and the role of the revolutionary party in that struggle.

Miah described the history of the battle over school busing in Boston.

When racist forces mobilized to stop busing a year ago—stoning buses carrying Black students and actually forming lynch mobs at times—the Black community was unprepared to respond to the reactionaries.

The racists were backed up by the Democratic party machine that runs Boston.

### Ford for racists

The city council chambers were turned over to the racists for their weekly meetings. President Ford came out on their side by announcing that he, too, was opposed to busing.

"What was needed," said Miah, "was a national response—a national show of force in Boston—that would tell the racists that they didn't own the streets of Boston." This was the perspective the SWP and YSA projected.

"Our line was one of countermobilizations to the racists. . . . We understood from the beginning that only such action would be able to demoralize the racist forces, split their ranks, and ultimately lead to their defeat."

The YSA helped initiate a student committee to help build the December 14 national march against racism in Boston last winter. This student committee laid the basis for the founding of the National Student Coalition Against Racism at a conference in February 1975.

At that conference Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins issued the call for a May 17 national march on Boston to support the Black community's right to equal education. The massive demonstration that occurred on May 17 dealt a blow to the racists.

In the six months since it was formed, Miah said, "not only has the student coalition been a leading

defender of the Boston Black community's democratic rights. It has become a central defender of all Blacks' democratic rights on a national scale."

NSCAR has been involved in the Joanne Little defense; the J.B. Johnson defense; demonstrations against police terror in Detroit and Los Angeles; the fight against cutbacks in funds for education in New York and New England; the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of the schools in New York's school District One; and desegregation battles in other cities.

Miah described NSCAR as a "united-front coalition made up of organizations and individuals who are for busing and school desegregation and who are opposed to racism."

"NSCAR has a mass-action orientation," he said. "It says everyone opposed to racism should join us and we will fight together hand in hand, despite differences that may exist over such questions as where racism comes from or how it can ultimately be ended."

### 'Long-term test of strength'

In his report on the Black liberation resolution, Tony Thomas said, "The struggle going on in Boston and other antiracist struggles are part of a long-term test of strength" over whether or not the gains Blacks won in the struggles of the 1950s and 1960s will be wiped away.

The ruling class, Thomas said, "is not willing to implement demands for Black equality, because this would challenge the political, social, and economic roots of racism, which are decisive to continued capitalist economic and political power in this country."

The resolution, which was presented to the convention by the outgoing SWP National Committee, describes how the capitalists benefit from the racist oppression of Blacks. Blacks are part of capitalism's industrial reserve force of the unemployed. They are drawn into the labor market in times of economic upswing and laid off during downturns. Their lower wages help keep down the wage levels of all workers.

Thomas cited statistics compiled by the National Urban League that show that *one out of four* Black workers is out of work during the present crisis. At least 60 percent of Black youth are unemployed.

The capitalist class reaps billions of dollars by paying Blacks lower wages and forcing them to pay higher rents for poorer housing, and to attend run-down schools.

The rulers also use racism to divide the working class. They make white workers believe that their relatively better conditions, compared to Blacks, can be maintained by keeping Blacks down rather than by fighting against the capitalist system. The resolution says, "To the extent they hold this attitude, white workers are led to view the unions as white job-trusts, which undercuts the development

of class consciousness and solidarity, and the advancement of all workers."

Racism is also used by the rulers as a justification for imperialist aggression against nonwhite peoples around the world.

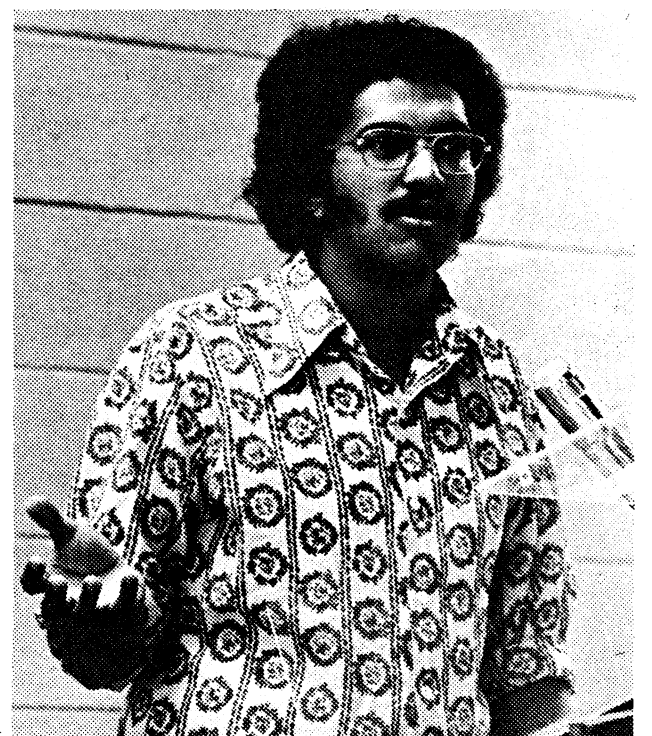
### Struggles forced concessions

Thomas described how the massive radicalization and mobilizations of the Black community in the 1950s and 1960s forced the capitalist class to make major concessions such as abolishing Jim Crow and passing laws granting legal equality in jobs and housing.

In addition, "they opened up the Democratic party to literally thousands of Black politicians in an effort to make it appear that capitalist politics is a solution to the problems of the Black community."

But the capitalists have always seen full equality for Blacks as a threat to their interests, he pointed out. "To solve this problem," Thomas said, they rely on the "system of de facto segregation: combining support to Black equality in law—in words—and in a few partial and limited actions, with a refusal to implement Black rights."

The events in Boston highlight the contradictory position the ruling class finds itself in with regard to the Black population. The rulers cannot afford to openly renounce the legal gains of the civil rights movement because they fear a political explosion in the Black communities. At the same time, they're not willing to really implement the demands for equality.



Militant/Henry Snipper

MALIK MIAH: 'We see Boston as a harbinger of future struggles.'



"With the development of the economic depression," said Thomas, "we've seen a stiffening of resistance to attempts to implement Black equality. While the capitalists are not prepared to try to impose nationally the program of racists like George Wallace or Louise Day Hicks, they look favorably on their actions insofar as they push back the militancy, self-confidence, and power of the Black community and make the Black masses less likely to push for their rights."

In Boston, Thomas recalled, the struggle started with a decision by the federal court—a ruling-class institution—to implement desegregation. This was a reflection of the capitalists' policy of appearing to support civil rights in order to moderate the Black movement.

The racist attempt to obstruct the busing order by violent means "was tolerated by the federal and local governments up to a point. However, we should note that the government is neither able nor willing to simply support racist mob violence as it did in the South after Reconstruction. They are under pressure from Blacks, and the image they have to maintain is one of providing a modicum of protection to the Black community against the racists."

"While Ford and other government leaders may give encouragement to the racists by agreeing with their opposition to busing, the government is still unable to make major moves on their side."

The atmosphere generated by the racist resistance to busing has led to the growth of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and even the Nazi sects. However, at this stage these forces do not play a major role. "The ruling class," noted Thomas, "needs a more flexible policy toward Blacks than Louise Day Hicks—much less the Klan or the Nazis—can provide."

"The revolt of the new racism places the ruling class in a dilemma, between their need to maintain a pretense of supporting Black equality and the necessity of blocking the drive to implement Black equality."

"To fight back against the racist attacks," Thomas said, the antiracist forces "should understand how to take advantage of that dilemma. In particular we must take advantage of the fact that most Black rights to equality have the law of the land behind them."

## Dual struggle

Thomas discussed the relationship between the struggle for Black rights and the struggle of the working class as a whole.

"The development of the radicalization among Black workers will take a dual form," Thomas said. "It will be a struggle for equality and political power as a *people*, and a struggle against economic exploitation as a *section of the working class*."

The resolution reaffirmed the SWP's position that the coming American revolution will be a combined revolution—a revolution to end capitalist exploitation of the working class as a whole and a revolution for self-determination for Blacks.

The resolution says that "the centuries of oppression of Black people have welded them into a distinct nationality with an identity that differentiates them both from other oppressed nationalities in this country and from white Americans."

Neither the American revolution of 1776 nor the Civil War and Reconstruction resulted in full equality for Black people, the resolution points out. Therefore, the "democratic task of providing equality, left over from the past, has been handed down to the present generation for solution. This historic default of the bourgeoisie has to be corrected by the progressive anticapitalist forces of our time." Thus the working-class socialist revolution will be inescapably intertwined with the struggles of Blacks.

"The size, social weight, and nationalist consciousness of the Black population indicate that the coming American revolution, as part of carrying through the democratic task of equalizing opportunities in all aspects of social life, will also be a revolution for the self-determination of Black people; that is, the Black people will have the right to decide for themselves what state form they need to guarantee their complete liberation from racial oppression."

## Racism and capitalism

Racism is against the interests of all workers—including white workers. The rulers use racism to divide the working class and deflect opposition from the capitalist system, which is the real source of their misery, by trying to "convince white workers that they have a *racial* interest as whites opposed to Blacks rather than a *class* interest as workers opposed to the capitalists."

"Racism is also used to whip up support for increasing political repression and restricting the

democratic rights of all workers. Racist codewords such as 'law and order' and 'crime in the streets' have been used to justify strengthening police forces and restricting civil liberties. . . .

"If the working class is not united against capitalist attacks, it will be crushed. Unity can be achieved only by winning the workers movement to a policy of complete and unconditional support to the struggle of Afro-Americans."

The resolution notes that while the privileged position of whites at the expense of Blacks makes achieving such unity more difficult, the way out of the impasse can be seen by viewing the common interests Black and white workers have. They "have a very significant thing in common," the resolution states, "—an enemy that economically and politically dominates them and benefits from their divisions."

## 'Transform the unions'

"We say a fight has to be waged to transform the unions into weapons that can be used to advance the Black struggle," Thomas said. "We have to get the unions to fight racism in hiring, promotions, upgrading, layoffs, and in representation of Blacks in the union leaderships. We've got to get the unions to support Black struggles like school desegregation and defense of frame-up victims like Joanne Little, and we've got to get them to enter the fight against cutbacks in social services on which the Black community depends."

Thomas predicted that one of the focuses of developing opposition to the present labor bureaucracy would be all-Black or Black-based caucuses fighting for Black rights.

Thomas noted that new tests have confronted the Black movement, which have affected all of the organizations fighting for Black rights. An example is the role of the NAACP today. During the 1960s it declined while other civil rights organizations grew. But today, while many of the other organizations have disappeared or dwindled, the NAACP has grown and attracted around it many of the people who are leading this stage of the fight for Black rights.

The NAACP is now willing to engage in direct actions such as the May 17 demonstration. "The NAACP," Thomas said, "has been on the front lines in fights around the two key questions in the fight against racism today—busing and preferential hiring. It was the NAACP that developed the concept of affirmative action and helped to extend it to the struggle against discriminatory layoffs, and it is the NAACP that has been involved in the major school desegregation suits around the country."

The NAACP is on a big recruiting drive now. "We believe," Thomas said, "that all NSCAR activists, militant unionists, women's liberation fighters, and people fighting for Black control of the Black community should be members of the NAACP. They should become participants in the life and struggles of the largest organization that is fighting in the interests of Blacks."

The Black community, Thomas said, has been in a state of "demobilization" because of the weakening of the Black movement through the combined ruling-class tactics of co-optation and brutal repression.

Key to the strategy of turning this around, he said, is "projecting actions in response to the racist offensive—actions that can renew confidence in the struggle for Black rights." He cited as models the May 17 demonstration and more recent actions in Boston in defense of school desegregation.

## Independent Black political action

A major obstacle to the advancement of the Black struggle, he noted, is that most Black people still look to the Democratic party for solutions to the problems they face.

The resolution points to the need for Blacks to break with the Democratic party: "Black participation in the Democratic party is totally unrealistic because it advises Blacks to operate within an institution which is one of the main instruments for upholding the economic and social system that perpetuates the oppression and exploitation of Black people. The financial power and behind-the-scenes intervention of the big corporations far outweigh any influence Black people can exert in such an organization."

"The proof of this is that, since the number of Black Democratic politicians and officials increased by the hundreds in the late 1960s, there has been no consequent increase in the concessions granted to the Black community."

Thomas noted that as the radicalization deepens among Blacks, and it becomes more apparent that the Democratic party offers no solutions, we can expect moves to break with the capitalist parties,

whether through the formation of an independent Black party or as part of the development of a labor party based on the trade unions.

The resolution ends by discussing the need for a mass revolutionary party in order to bring about a socialist revolution and win Black liberation. "In order to win against the centralized class," it says, "there must be a single combat party, overwhelmingly proletarian, which is composed of cadres from every nationality that makes up this country, that can coordinate and lead the workers, the Black people, and all their allies in the struggle for power."

"This mass revolutionary party must have deep roots in the Black masses or it will surely fail."

## Revolutionary socialist party

"The Socialist Workers party is the nucleus of this future mass revolutionary socialist party. The SWP is the only party that understands the combined character of the coming revolution and has charted a program that links the immediate and day-to-day struggles of Blacks and all the workers with the struggle for power. In order for the SWP to carry out its tasks, it must become more deeply rooted in the Black masses and in their struggles."

From the number of Black activists who spoke at the delegated sessions and workshops at the SWP convention, as leaders of struggles around such issues as Boston busing, freeing Joanne Little, and police terror—it was clear that the party is becoming more deeply rooted in the struggles of the Black masses.

Thomas ended his report by saying, "The course we project coming out of this convention . . . is going to make us become a party that not only supports the struggle of the oppressed nationalities but is made up of leading fighters in those struggles."

"Right now we're finding more Black people who want to fight and are looking to us to provide a way to fight. One of the most important things we can do coming out of this convention is to do everything we can to bring Black militants into our party and bring our party into their struggle."

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## Democrat, Republican oppose busing

# Cleve. SWP nominee backs NAACP suit

By Ernest Mailhot

CLEVELAND—Mayor Ralph Perk openly joined the ranks of the racist antibusing movement September 14 by announcing his intention to use the resources of city hall to combat the Cleveland NAACP's school desegregation suit. Perk requested that the city be named as a defendant in the suit, which is scheduled to be heard here in federal court November 10.

The NAACP has proved beyond question that the Cleveland school system represents a classic case of segregated education. Supporting documents filed with the suit show that in 152 of Cleveland's 170 schools, the student bodies are either 90-100 percent white or 90-100 percent Black.

In a news conference held three days prior to Perk's antibusing announcement, Robert Bresnahan, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, issued a call for support to the desegregation struggles of Blacks in Boston and Louisville. Bresnahan pointed to the connection between the desegregation issue in those two cities and the NAACP suit for desegregation of Cleveland schools.

"Any compromise with these racists will only encourage them to escalate their violence. . . . What they are fighting for is the preservation of the system of forced segregation that



Militant/Janice Cline  
BRESNAHAN: 'Any compromise with racists will only encourage them to escalate violence.'

prevails in American education, and that includes Cleveland, Ohio," Bresnahan said.

Later, in a reply to Perk, Bresnahan and Christine Gauvreau, SWP candidate for school board, termed Perk's

action "a challenge to all supporters of equal rights and equal opportunities for Blacks in Cleveland."

Among the defendants in the NAACP desegregation suit is Democratic mayoral hopeful Arnold Pinkney, who is president of the board of education. A leading Black politician and an aide to former mayor Carl Stokes, Pinkney also is an opponent of busing. While proclaiming his support to desegregation in general, Pinkney points to the racist violence in Boston and Louisville as an argument against the use of busing for school desegregation. He has failed to offer any alternative to accomplish desegregation.

Perk also uses this argument as a justification for his opposition to busing. According to Perk, "Busing endangers the safety of the community."

Pinkney's refusal to answer Perk on busing lends weight to the racists' contention that busing violates their right to "neighborhood schools." Pinkney has gone so far as to use the term "forced busing," which was coined by racist opponents of desegregation such as Boston's Louise Day Hicks.

In contrast, Bresnahan and Gauvreau have used their campaigns to explain the importance of the NAACP suit. Although Perk and Pinkney have stated that crime is the city's major

problem, the socialist candidates have focused on police brutality, unemployment, and the deteriorating quality of life in Cleveland.

During the summer, Cleveland Blacks and their supporters strongly protested the police murders of three Black men, Dwain Hawkins, Derrick Browne, and Walter Saunders. The socialist candidates have issued a call for an independent commission of inquiry, controlled by the Black community, into these killings and other instances of police violence.

The socialists have also called for an emergency public works program to provide immediate relief for the thousands of residents of Cleveland who are denied adequate housing, transportation, health, and recreational facilities.

The "nonpartisan" primary election is September 30. Bresnahan and Gauvreau are winding up a campaign that has included going to high schools, plant gates, a housing project for the elderly, and the welfare department.

During the last week of the campaign, activities will include a debate between Bresnahan and his mayoral opponents at the City Club, participation in a picket line protesting sexist hiring practices at Riviotta Cartage, and a socialist campaign rally on September 27.

## Socialists open South Side Chicago storefront

By Elizabeth Stone

CHICAGO, Sept. 20—A celebration of the opening of the new Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters on Chicago's South Side was held here yesterday with a reception, a program of speakers, and lots of applause and cheers.

By the time the program began, the storefront headquarters, at 1754 East Fifty-fifth Street, was overflowing with people. Cecil Lampkin, moderator for the evening, welcomed everyone and explained why a second Socialist Workers campaign headquarters was being opened in Chicago.

Lampkin pointed to the growing interest in socialist ideas and the deepening disillusionment with the Democratic and Republican parties as the reason for the expansion of the socialist movement. He mentioned the success of last spring's campaign of Willie Mae Reid for mayor as an example of this, pointing in particular to the election results in the area where the new headquarters is located.

"Right here in the fifth ward, Reid got 14.5 percent of the vote," he said. "In five precincts in this ward, she outpolled the Republican candidate, and in two precincts she beat 'Boss' Daley. In wards that are majority-Black around the city she got 5 percent of the vote."

Lampkin said the new headquarters will be used as an organizing center to reach out to more people on the South Side with the socialist alternative.

Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers party candidate for president and columnist for the *Militant*, was the featured speaker for the evening. She pinpointed the crisis of the economy as one of the main reasons for the increasing interest in socialism and explained the program advocated by the SWP to deal with the effects of this crisis.

South Side SWP organizer Suzanne Haig described the activities that will be organized from the new hall. It will be a campaign headquarters for the

Socialist Workers 1976 presidential ticket as well as a center for state and local campaigns, regular forums on topics of interests to the community, and classes on socialism.

The headquarters will also house a bookstore and will provide a meeting place and office for the Young Socialist Alliance.

It was announced that the headquarters will be open every day and everyone at the meeting was invited to drop in to participate in various activities and browse in the bookstore.

The meeting ended with a taped message from Willie Mae Reid. Reid, who lived on the South Side for many years, came across loud and clear on the tape.

"Hello Chicago. . . . How I wish I was there with you. . . . A Socialist Workers Campaign headquarters on the South Side is something I've dreamed about for a long time, and now it's finally happening! . . . Best of luck to you in this endeavor."



Militant/Dave Saperstein  
Suzanne Haig, South Side Chicago SWP organizer.

## Ore. judge tells cops: don't shred spy files

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—The Socialist Workers party won a temporary restraining order September 10 preventing the Portland Police Department from destroying any political files kept on the SWP. Attorney Eldon Rosenthal of the American Civil Liberties Union had requested the court order as part of the socialists' fight to gain access to these secret files.

A recently enacted Oregon statute prohibits intelligence-gathering agencies from keeping secret files on the political, social, or religious views of an organization or individual unless investigation relating to criminal activity is under way. The September 10 court order will legally prevent the police from using this law as an excuse to destroy or withhold political files on SWP members.

The socialists have been trying to see their files since June, when police released a file on the local ACLU

executive director with references to other files maintained on "militants." Both the police and Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt have refused to even acknowledge the existence of files on the SWP.

The ACLU then asked Multnomah County District Attorney Harl Haas to order release of the files. On September 4 Haas issued an opinion ordering the police to inform the SWP whether or not files exist. If they do exist, Haas suggested in his opinion, the police will probably be able to avoid disclosing the files under provision of the public records act exempting records "compiled for criminal law purposes."

The police department, however, has refused to abide by Haas's minimal order. They informed attorney Rosenthal September 10 that the department would not admit or deny the existence of intelligence files on the SWP.

At a well-attended news conference that same day, SWP mayoral candidate George Kontanis denounced the police and city administration for violating the constitutional rights of the citizens of Portland.

"What are [Police Chief] Bruce Baker and [Mayor] Neil Goldschmidt afraid of?" asked Kontanis. "That these files will disclose a Portland Watergating of the SWP and its campaign supporters as the FBI and CIA revelations have indicated on a national level?"

"We think that Oregonians have the right to know the contents of the police department's secret files on the SWP, that the cover-up by city officials must be ended, and that the blatant violation of our constitutional rights must be stopped."

In addition to the order restraining the police from destroying their files on the SWP, Rosenthal has filed a motion seeking to have the contents of the files made public.



# Chicanas explain what UFW means to them

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—When the union representation election was held at the Gallo vineyard in Livingston, I visited the United Farm Workers headquarters there.

I was seated in the hall waiting for a union representative to return when one of the people working in the kitchen asked me if I would like something to eat.

The fragrant spice of *menudo* was drifting out, and I accepted the invitation.

While I enjoyed a bowl of the soup, I talked with the young woman who offered it to me and another woman who was working with her.

They turned out to be sisters. They were from the Livingston area and are now going to school, one at a local community college, the other in Sacramento. They also devote much of their time to working with the union, as does their farm worker mother.

Santa Lambaren is twenty-five and the mother of two children. Her sister, Rosenda Yeo, is twenty-two. They are part of a large family.

When they were children the family was split up. For many years the two were separated. They recalled when they were still together as children and the family was in the fields.

They picked prunes most of the time, they said. But they also picked tomatoes, peaches, apricots, and other fruits.

"We had to carry heavy ladders and work out in the sun all day. You had to work for what you got. You didn't have any choice in your pay," Rosenda said.

"You'd work all summer just to have two dresses for school and a pair of shoes," Santa added. She recalled that when Rosenda was very small "she always got a bloody nose out in the hot sun, so we had to put her in a little wagon and just push her. There was me, my other sister, and my mother working together. My sister had to get up and strip the trees while I picked the prunes and dumped the buckets. My mother would give us the confidence to keep going."

Then the family separated. Santa went up north, where she married. Her father-in-law owned a small tomato ranch, but he was an open and outspoken partisan of the UFW. The white ranchers and businesspeople in the area gave them a very hard time. They were on the verge of bankruptcy. But a lot of other people befriended them, and they made it through.

## Camejo backs UFW effort

NEW YORK—Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo issued a statement September 24 in which he pledged to support the United Farm Workers' "just cause and to urge people to boycott grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine until contracts are signed."

"I call on the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board to enforce the law," Camejo said, "and to act to protect UFW organizers against grower and Teamster attacks and harassment so that democratic elections will be possible."

"UFW organizers must have access to the fields in all of the upcoming elections or the farm workers will be cheated of their rights and the new labor law will be reduced to a hoax. Harassment by photographers and security guards, intimidation at polling places, and deportations by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of undocumented Mexican workers who sign up with the UFW must end."



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Santa Lambaren (left) and Rosenda Yeo. "I feel like everything is connected—the oppression of farm workers and the oppression of everybody," Rosenda said.

At college Santa became actively involved in a farm worker support group. Then she came back down to Livingston and found her sister and mother also actively involved in the movement.

### 'All boycotting'

"When we saw each other again," she said, "we were all boycotting, picketing."

When Rosenda started high school, her stepfather applied for a job with Gallo. They told him they would hire him only if the entire family would work. He said no, he wanted the children to go to school.

Rosenda got involved with a local club that supported the farm workers. They made a trip down to Delano, where hearing César Chávez speak made a deep impression on her. She became active.

Santa said she joined with the strikers during the 1973 battles in the grape fields.

"What struck me," she recalled, "was the beatings people got. That's what really made me think. You'd see fields like this, with the police out there, and the police officers would look at you like you're next. That's what scared me. That's what made me think you have to stick with it. People shouldn't be beat up just because they want to form a union to see things get better."

Rosenda talked about what the UFW could become. "It could be something strong," she said. "The will of the people. Not just something you pay your dues to, and if you get sick, maybe a medical benefit. Something to be involved in, to want to see it grow."

She continued, "Like César says it's a movement for dignity—for a farm worker to say 'I'm a farm worker' without feeling like shit. Not to think that because he's a farm worker he's dirt. For it to be a respectable kind of living, not looked down on as it always has been in the past."

"And," she emphasized, "to make

the person a better person—to feel good about herself."

Santa said she felt the UFW would have an impact on the entire Chicano movement. "Just looking at how far the UFW has come," she said, "it gives you the confidence that you can go out there and do it, and that it can be done in a peaceful way. That's what's important."

She said she takes her nine-year-old daughter to the picket lines and has taken her to hear Chávez speak. "I want her to grow up seeing what the people go through," she said. "I took her to see films about the brutality."

### Impact on women

We discussed the impact of the farm workers movement on women. "You can already see some of the changes," Santa said. "Women are so involved right now in the UFW. I think more changes can be made. I don't think there will be any more oppression of women. I don't see why. I hope not, anyway."

Rosenda added, "César's up there, but Dolores [Huerta] is up there too. The people know he's working, but they know she's working just as hard. You see a lot of women out there. They're the ones that are really trying to hustle."

"They're also the ones that take the slander," Santa added, "and a lot more of the brutality. I think the men see it that way too. I've never had an experience in the UFW where a man put me down because I was a woman."

"I think we've shown them they really need us," Santa continued. "We've shown them what we can do, too."

Rosenda added a point. "It's really hard because you see that there is a change, but it really is not that much of a change. You still see a lot of the time that the men will be sitting down and the women will be in the kitchen or watching the kids."

"There are a lot of women there," she continued, "but you think a lot of

women are just not where they could be. They could be more active, lots more talkative, in more of a leadership role."

Of course, she added, it's not realistic to expect someone to overcome a lifetime of oppression in an instant.

But "you get tired of warming up the tortillas," she said.

Are other women getting tired of warming their tortillas?

"I think some of them are already. I think some women have already reached the point where they think they can do more. Their vote is just as important—and they realize it, too."

Santa talked about how her involvement in the movement has made her aware of the broader world around her and of the big social problems.

"Before, I used to be afraid to ask questions," she said. "Now I'm eager to find out about everything."

### 'Everything is connected'

Rosenda joined in. "I feel like everything is connected—the oppression of farm workers and the oppression of everybody. If you're going to deal with the strike, you have to deal with why there is a strike. It makes you question. Pretty soon you're saying, 'This guy up there is doing this. That's why they're doing it to you.'"

Returning to *la causa*, Santa said, "I just hope it stops the oppression of people. I hope they let my people go. That's all. That we start building something and doing things instead of always being down. That we finally come up and breathe the clean air."

Rosenda said, "I just hope it helps the whole psychological thing about feeling bad about what you are—if you're Brown or poor white or Black."

"If the UFW can do even a little bit for that, that will be a great inspiration to many people who wanted to get something and for some reason were held back. Maybe they'll say, 'They did it. They got it together. Let's see what we can do.'"

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**CRISIS IN ATLANTA'S SCHOOLS.** A panel discussion including: Bill Overton, president, Atlanta Association of Educators; and Willie Bolden, AFSCME Local 1644 representative. Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## CLEVELAND

**REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT.** Speakers: Jeff Feather, Bucky Kahn, Shirley Pasholk, Melissa Singler, Nancy Stemmer. Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## LOS ANGELES

**RALLY TO LAUNCH 1976 SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.** Speakers: Omari Musa, 1974 SWP congressional candidate in L.A.; Olga Rodriguez, member YSA National Committee; Roland Sheppard, 1975 SWP candidate for San Francisco mayor. Sat., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 4040 Washington Blvd. (at Washington Square shopping center). Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**THE UNITED FARM WORKERS.** Speaker: Julie Kerkick, Manhattan coordinator, UFW; film, *Fighting for Our Lives*. Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PHILADELPHIA

**REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE IN PORTUGAL: WHAT NEXT?** Speakers: Wayne Johnson, recently returned from Portugal; Sirafim Santos, Angolan Student Union; Barry David, SWP. Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert (one block north of Market St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET.** Featured speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 3, 7 p.m. St. Stephen's Church (14th & Park). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Missouri '76 Socialist Workers Campaign Comm. For more information call (314) 367-0463.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**RALLY TO LAUNCH 1976 SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.** Speakers: Omari Musa, 1974 SWP congressional candidate in L.A.; Olga Rodriguez, member, YSA National Committee; Roland Sheppard, 1975 SWP candidate for San Francisco mayor. Fri., Oct. 3. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8:00 p.m.; party to follow. 1519 Misison St. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign. For more information call (415) 431-8918.

## SEATTLE

**UNITED FARM WORKERS REPORT ON CALIFORNIA FIELD ELECTIONS.** Speaker: Dale Van Pelt, UFW boycott organizer and delegate to recent UFW convention. Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Mary Hillery, candidate for mayor; Gary Prevost, candidate for Fifth Ward, City Council; a representative of Hennepin County Women's Political Caucus. Sat., Oct. 4. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 25 University Ave., S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$3.50, meal; \$1.00, rally. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1975-76 Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**MIDEAST ACCORD: PEACE OR NEW WAR?** Speakers: Rick Berman, youth support director for Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee; and an Arab student. Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. 1345 E Street N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...UFW

*Continued from back page*

He added: "They [his staff] signed them up at home, on the street, wherever they happened to be."

The UFW witness at the hearing presented a damning indictment of how the WGA and the Teamsters operate.

The witness was Avila Alvarez, a worker from Mexico who has picked lettuce in the Salinas and Imperial Valley areas for the past five years.

Answering questions through an interpreter, Alvarez explained how—in order to work—he had been compelled on several jobs to sign Teamster "authorization" cards. This made him a "member" only to the extent that eight dollars a month in dues was deducted from his wages.

A thoughtful man who obviously measures his words, Alvarez answered most questions briefly.

Asked if he had ever seen a Teamster contract, he replied, "No, not yet." Asked if he had wanted to join the Teamsters, he replied simply, "No."

Asked under cross-examination if he is a member of the UFW, Alvarez responded, no. He had never been employed on a ranch with a UFW contract. He had, however, participated in a UFW-led strike in 1970.

He testified about the various lettuce ranches where he had worked. On all but one they either deducted Teamster dues without his signing anything, or, when he started work, the foreman signed him up in the union.

Asked if Teamster organizers had

ever come into the fields to ask him to sign a card, he told of one experience that he said occurred at a lettuce ranch in late 1972 or early 1973.

"There were Teamster organizers who went with the foremen into the fields," he testified. "They kept talking, saying, 'Do you want us to represent you?'"

"The people didn't want to hear them," Alvarez continued, "because they knew they already had the contract signed."

"They [the Teamsters] left," he added, "because we wouldn't listen to them."

"Then," he said, "the foremen began to push the people to sign. In the fields nobody would sign. But people were saying they had to go sign at the foreman's house. They were going to give back pay now but the one who didn't sign wouldn't get the back pay."

"I didn't want to sign that paper," Alvarez added quietly, "because I asked the foreman to show me the contract and he didn't show me the contract. I didn't sign."

Through a clerical error, Alvarez got his back pay anyway. Shortly afterwards it was time to move on. At the next ranch they simply started deducting his Teamster dues.

There was a small, fitting touch at the hearing. After Grami finished testifying he went over and sat down next to the representative of the Western Growers Association. They sat together until the hearing ended.

# ...Zeidler

*Continued from page 24*

squad." Its job was to spy on and harass trade unionists, Black activists, and members of radical political organizations.

Zeidler was no better out of office. He never did anything to support the civil rights or antiwar movements.

In a recent interview printed in a Milwaukee magazine, the *Bugle-American*, Zeidler said Milwaukee's "biggest problem is the problem of race. . . you have the blacks mad at the police because they're white, you have the police upset at the blacks because of that particular attitude, you have industries leaving because the poor blacks are making it insecure for

them, they're afraid they might break in at night."

In other words, Blacks are responsible for all the problems. Apparently Zeidler got the nomination because of his proven vote-getting ability, but some Socialist party members may find his views embarrassing.

The convention adopted a very general program. Among its many weaknesses was a failure to say anything about the struggle to desegregate the schools, the fight against discriminatory layoffs, the Equal Rights Amendment, or the need to eliminate the war budget. It put forward no proposals for fighting unemployment.

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 1519 Mission St., San Francisco. For more information call (415) 431-8918.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4. Rally, 7:30 p.m. 4040 Washington Blvd. (at Washington Square shopping center), Los Angeles. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

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## Farm workers gain in Calif. field voting

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Despite heavy obstacles, the United Farm Workers continue to register gains in their fight to represent California field workers.

On September 18 the California Supreme Court ordered growers to permit union organizers to enter their fields pending a further review.

A day earlier the newly created Agricultural Labor Relations Board of California ruled in favor of the UFW

For more farm worker news see page 29.

by rejecting a grower-Teamster proposition that 156 ranches affiliated with the Western Growers Association (WGA) be voted as a single unit in union representation elections.

And on September 19, for the first time, the ALRB issued complaints against two growers for unfair labor practices.

Meanwhile, the UFW continued to lead the Teamsters by a significant margin in union representation elections.

The result of one key election, the one at Gallo vineyards, is still officially undetermined. At stake are the votes of UFW Gallo workers who have been on strike since 1973. Their votes were challenged by the Teamsters. If the strikers' votes are counted, as the new farm labor law provides, the UFW will likely win the election. A public ALRB hearing on the issue will be held October 6 in Merced, California, near the Gallo ranch.

In ordering union access to the field workers, the state supreme court lifted an injunction granted the growers by two lower courts.

The injunction was against the ALRB. The board had ruled that if there are to be fair elections both unions must have access to the workers in the fields and in company labor camps. This was crucial to the UFW since the Teamsters have automatic access in many ranches on the basis of their collusive sweetheart contracts with the growers.

And in issuing complaints against two growers, the board gave added substance to the UFW charge that elections are being rigged on a wholesale basis—that the growers and Teamsters engaged in coercion, intimidation, and other dirty tricks to prevent the UFW from winning.

The ALRB complaints were directed at two Fresno growers. The board



found that one grower had fired a worker illegally because of his support for the UFW and that both growers had "interfered with, restrained and coerced" other UFW supporters. The board acted on the basis of a complaint filed by the UFW.

### 'Climate of fear'

Responding to the board action, UFW leader César Chávez charged that it was insufficient to deal with the "climate of fear created by the Teamsters and growers."

Chávez asserted that the board has ignored several hundred UFW complaints of grower-Teamster collusion.

In a telegram to Bishop Roger Mahony, chairman of the board, Chávez declared, "The threats and intimi-

dation of workers have reached the point where the election process has lost all appearance of fairness."

In response to an earlier, similar complaint by Chávez, Mahony said that while he thought there were certain problems, on balance all the participants in the election process were conducting themselves in accordance with the spirit of the law.

The bishop offered that rosy estimate at an impromptu news conference during a break in an ALRB hearing in Sacramento September 16.

That hearing considered the grower-Teamster proposition that the 156 growers affiliated with the WGA be considered a single unit for election purposes.

The proposal would have meant that elections would have to be held at all ranches during the same period, with election results tallied on a statewide basis rather than by individual ranches.

The Teamsters have held a master sweetheart contract covering WGA affiliates since 1970. It was hastily renewed last July.

The growers and Teamsters apparently felt they could coerce and intimidate workers more easily on the smaller ranches affiliated with the WGA. Majorities won that way, they calculated, could possibly offset UFW victories at the larger ranches. It isn't quite as easy to rig the elections on the bigger ranches, where the UFW tradi-

tionally has had greater strength.

The UFW potential was indicated by the first results of voting at WGA affiliates.

The Teamsters and the UFW each won elections at thirteen ranches. But the total vote was 1,814 for the UFW as against 1,119 for the Teamsters.

At the ALRB hearing, the UFW argued that the single-unit proposition was one more expression of the efforts of the WGA-Teamster alliance to subvert the election process.

### 'A sham'

UFW attorney Sandy Nathan charged that the WGA contract with the Teamsters was from the outset "a sham of labor relations agreements."

"The employees of these growers," Nathan declared, "never, ever indicated any preference or desire to be represented by the Western Conference of Teamsters or any other Teamster affiliates."

The UFW charge was borne out by the testimony of the Teamster witness at the hearing. The Teamster representative was William Grami, a smooth talker who reportedly organized the Teamster goon squads that were used so scandalously against UFW supporters during the 1973 grape strike in Coachella.

Grami said he now heads the Warehouse and Miscellaneous Division of the Western Conference of Teamsters. (The "miscellaneous" apparently refers to farm workers.)

Grami asserted that before the Teamsters put a union-shop agreement into effect they first secured signed authorization cards from a majority of the workers at any given ranch.

That story blew up in his face when UFW attorney Nathan questioned him about some 5,000 "authorization" cards from grape pickers in the Coachella area in 1973.

Nathan asked Grami if he was aware of an affidavit obtained from the California Farm Employment Bureau that confirmed that there were no more than 1,200 grape pickers employed in the Coachella Valley at the time.

Grami responded that this was contrary to his "personal impression."

"There were many workers in the area at the time," he explained. "But they were not working. They were going to go to work in farms that were ready to start operations."

Continued on page 30

## UFW leaders arrested

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 23—Seven United Farm Workers organizers were arrested at a Delano grape ranch September 22 when they tried to talk to the workers during their lunch break. The California Supreme Court recently upheld the right of unionists to talk with the workers on company property prior to a union representation election.

The seven were placed under citizen's arrest by a representative of the Marco Zaninovich Ranch.

Tulare County sheriffs deputies stood by and advised on procedure in making the arrest.

Among those taken to jail were Fred Ross, UFW director of organization, and union executive board member Richard Chávez. The seven were charged with trespassing.

Today the UFW organizers went back to the ranch but this time there was no interference. A union representation election was slated to be held September 25.

## Vote totals

Following are the unofficial results of voting in California farm elections as of September 20. The figures are from the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board.

	Vote Percent	
United Farm Workers	9,278	51.2
Teamsters	5,950	32.8
No union	2,902	16.0
Totals	18,130	100.0